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THE CULT
OF THE
HEAVENLY TWINS

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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,
C. F. CLAY, MANAGER.
London: FETTER LANE, E.C.
Glasgow: 50, WELLINGTON STREET.

Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS.
New York: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.
Bombay and Calcutta: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

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THE CULT

OF THE

HEAVENLY TWINS

BY

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WITH SEVEN PLATES

CAMBRIDGE:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1906

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Cambridge:

PRINTED BY JOHN CLAY, M.A.

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

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PREFACE.

IN the following pages I have returned to the subject which was introduced in the lectures on the *Dioscuri in the Christian Legends*. The field has widened under survey, and is now comparable with 'all time and all existence.' The man who deals with a universal subject needs something more than a universal spirit; he must have a number of friends and know how to use them. In the following pages will be found the traces of more minds than one or two. Dr Moulton and Mr Chadwick have advised my philological weakness, and found me parallels to my investigations from the lore of the far north and the far east: Mr Johns has advised me as to the Assyrian and Babylonian beliefs that may be quoted; Mr Bass Mullinger supplies me with an interesting case of Dioscurophany from the Middle Ages; Mr Conybeare suggests to me to examine the pretty story of Sisinnius and Sisinnodorus; Miss Jane Harrison points out some archeological parallels; and Mr T. R. Glover watches over the work with constant suggestion, wise rebuke and solicitude, as if it were his own. My hearty thanks to them and to others. The faults of the book will be mine, the virtues will be credited elsewhere.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

March, 1906.

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INTRODUCTION.

THERE are few directions of modern investigation in which a small and apparently restricted subject has grown more rapidly to a large and varied one than the enquiry into the meaning of the third sign of the Zodiac, which goes by the name of the Heavenly Twins. The average man's knowledge about them would probably be nearly the same as that of a schoolboy who understands that one section of the Zodiac is marked by two bright companion stars, whose names are individually Castor and Pollux, and collectively Gemini, the Twins; and that Castor and Pollux are a couple of deified heroes, whose chief achievement on earth was to win the battle of the Lake Regillus for the Romans, and so to furnish material for one of Macaulay's spirited *Lays of Ancient Rome*. Beyond that, all is a blank; the schoolboy may indeed be closer involved than he knows with the history of the Twins; his ejaculations may sometimes take the form "by jiminy" without his recognizing that an appeal is being made, in a forcible manner, to the Twins as the guardians of public faith and the avengers of acts of perjury; but even if he had recognized the connexion between his own slang and the ancient piety, it would probably be some time before he detected the reason for the connexion in the portions of the ancient Roman history and literature which it was his duty to read. When, however, we examine the legends of the Twins more closely, passing over from the Roman world to the Greek world and so to the further East, and the Indian literature, the qualities, powers and actions ascribed to the Twins become so diversified

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that it is difficult to understand not only how the Twins became the guardians of good faith, but also how a single pair can be credited with the playing of so many and so varied parts as we find assigned to them; for we find them as the patrons of almost all the industries and avocations of life, as the benefactors of every kind of needy people, as governing horse-craft and ship-craft and plough-craft and leech-craft, as presiding over the merchant and the soldier and the sailor; in the bestowal of rain from heaven they seem to have the prerogative of Zeus, in the healing of the sick of Aesculapius, in the foughten field they are more in evidence than Ares, and in subtlety and skill they are a match for Hermes. How did all these varied functions come into the mind of the early speculative man? Can the examination of a pair of companion stars account for so many arts and crafts and occupations? Can a single pair of heroes do so many things well beside fighting? And if they were really men, why did the legend-makers make one of them immortal and show the grave of the other to prove that he was mortal? It must be obvious that we cannot lay all these characteristics of the Twins to the charge of a single pair of fixed stars which happen to be in a certain division of the Zodiac. The Zodiac is a long-suffering beast of burden, and has had many fearful and wonderful hypotheses put upon its back, but it is quite impossible that it can be responsible for the variety of stories which are brought to light in even a rapid survey of the Greek archeology, or the allusions to the Twins in the *Rig-Veda*. And the anthropologists have been slowly finding out for us that the Heavenly Twins can be taken out of the Zodiac altogether, that they belong to a time when Chaldean astronomy was not yet dreamt of, and to a period of human development which can only be called historical at all by a very liberal use of the term, and that their varied activities and philanthropies are a mirror in which we can read the evolution of the arts of human life as disclosed by the inventions of many aeons of progress. For this reason the Heavenly Twins are a peculiarly attractive study to the anthropologist, who can take us back in their company to the very dawn of civilization.

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In the following pages we have no intention of making an exhaustive study of the cult of the Heavenly Twins. What we want to do is to carry back a few of the characteristics of the Twins to the lowest strata of human history, and then to show how many traces of the cult remain in mediaeval and in modern life. On this last point we have written briefly in the book called *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends*. In the following pages we shall return to the theme and add some further illustrations in support of our theories. But first of all we must move backward into the earliest times and find out, if possible, how the belief in the existence of the Heavenly Twins arose, and which of their varied peculiarities are the most ancient.

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CHAPTER I.

That the Heavenly Twins are one mortal and the other immortal.

It will probably occasion surprise that we should claim the highest antiquity for the belief that one of a pair of twins is mortal and the other immortal.

We understand from the Greek legends of the Dioscuri, or sons of Zeus, that one of them, Castor, was buried in Greek soil; the other, Polydeuces (or Pollux, as the Latins call him), was made immortal by Zeus; and the Greek mythologists have added a beautiful description of the discontent of the deified Polydeuces because his brother could not share his honours with him, and his determination not to enjoy Heaven alone, together with an account of the way in which Zeus rewarded the disinterested affection of Polydeuces, and divided immortality for one between two, thus furnishing the Greek moralists with their classical instance of the higher forms of love in sacrifice.

My impression is, that there is hardly any of the legends of the Twins of which we should more unhesitatingly say *à priori* that it was altogether a product of the Greek mind than this peculiar story of the divided immortality and shared mortality. But perhaps some hesitation might have been produced by the reflection that the same terms (mortal and immortal) are used of another pair of twins (still Greek, but apparently an independent cult), viz. the Twins worshipped at Thebes, under the

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names of Amphion and Zethus. For, as I pointed out[1], we have some verses preserved by Pausanias from the Greek poet Asius, in which he speaks of the birth of Amphion and his brother in the following terms:

> And Antiope bore Zethus and divine Amphion,
> She the daughter of Asopus, the deep-eddying river,
> Having conceived by Zeus and by Epopeus, shepherd of peoples.

Here we are warned to discriminate between Zethus the mortal and Amphion the immortal, and the reason of the difference is assigned, viz. the double paternity, divine and human, which affected their mother Antiope; just as in the case of Castor and Polydeuces we are referred to Zeus and Tyndareus.

In the same way the twin brethren Herakles and Iphikles are reputed to be of one mother, viz. Alkmene, but the fathers are different; Zeus is the parent of Herakles, but Amphitryon of Iphikles. (Notice, in passing, the rhyming of the names of this pair of twins.)

And the suggestion at once arises that the explanation given may be one that would naturally be given by primitive man explaining phenomena to himself, without the aid of advanced Greek mythology. Is it not probable that all of the cases referred to have come down from an earlier stratum which is not necessarily Greek at all? and that their common origin can be carried back to the very bounds of the Aryan civilization? I propose to show that the explanation can be found at an earlier date than any known civilization. In order to do this we must examine the survivals of primitive human life which are embedded in our present civilization; we must turn to the beliefs and customs of savage peoples, in order to find out how they regarded and explained such a phenomenon as the birth of twins.

In a recent report on the Essequibo Indians by Commissioner McTurk, we find the following passages relating to certain recrudescences of superstition among the Indians:

"Regarding puiism or sorcery, it has increased of late years, especially among the Indians inland, and no one unacquainted

[1] *Dioscuri*, p. 18.

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with the inner life of the Indian can tell how they suffer from its influence, and how detrimental it is to their advancement.

"It is all very well for people who have only a hearsay knowledge of pui to laugh at and ridicule it. It may appear ridiculous to them from an intellectual point of view, but it is no laughing matter to the Indians, but one from which their superstitious ignorance at times causes them intense suffering. Their belief in puiism is more sincere and general than in the Christian religion, to which it is in a measure antagonistic; and for the good of the race, it would be well if an effort could be made to stamp it out. I could relate many instances of serious sufferings and even death that resulted from the superstitious belief in the powers of the pui man—the most recent will suffice.

"An Indian woman gave birth to twins: at the time there was considerable sickness in the neighbourhood and a pui man was called in. He declared the cause of the sickness to be one of the twins, who he said was the child of a Kenaima[1], as a woman could not naturally produce two children at a birth. The particular child was sick and fretful, and one night on the cry of an owl or other night bird the child woke and commenced to cry. The pui man, who was present, declared the

[1] Some caution will be necessary in the explanation of the word Kenaima. It need hardly be said that it does not mean a deity, nor has it the exact sense of a spirit, as we understand spirit. If we examine the account given of the Indian superstitions in Mr im Thurn's *Indians of British Guiana* we shall find that the Kenaima is one of "the most marked and influential characters in every-day Indian life" (p. 328). He is commonly conceived as "a man, who, having devoted himself to slaying some other man, has the power of separating his spiritual from his bodily substance" (p. 329). "All tangible objects, animate (including man) and inanimate alike, consist each of two separable parts—a body and a spirit" (*ibid.*). "Every object, in the whole world, is a being, consisting of a body and spirit, and differs from every other object in no respect except that of bodily form, and in the greater or less degree of brute force and brute cunning consequent on the difference of bodily form and bodily habits" (p. 350). The Kenaima, then, is an animistic conception, at an early stage of human thought. The Kenaima is the external soul of something or somebody, almost always hurtful, and requiring the counteracting influences of the peaiman (pui-man). He is hardly yet a spirit and far from being a god. But he will become a god some day, the peaiman will be his priest and the Twins his assessors.

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cry of the bird to be the Kenaima father of the child calling to it, and the child's crying its answer. The next day at his instigation a large hole was dug in the ground and a fire built in it, and when it was well ablaze the infant was thrown into it and burned to death[1]."

Here, then, we have the very belief that we are in search of, an expression of the most elementary thought of the human race on the subject of the birth of twins. The occurrence is abnormal, and an abnormal cause must be found for the abnormal effect[2]. The hypothesis is a dual paternity, one father being the known and visible factor, the other an unknown and spirit factor. It is only one step from this belief to the statement that the Dioscuri were, one mortal and one immortal. We are, however, carried back by that single step to the very beginnings of human civilization. And we are not limited to Indo-Germanic origins, for the explanation is evidently a spontaneous one on the part of the primitive man, long before the point of departure of any developments of Aryan civilization. We have only to turn the invisible spirit of the Indian sorcerer into the "Father" of the Greek Olympus and the existence of Castor and Polydeuces is explained. If this be so, we are far and finally removed from any attempt to explain the Twins by the Zodiac or by the stars. We are at an earlier date in human history than star-gazing and star-naming[3]. Any

[1] A little later, the mother shared the fate of the child.

[2] This sense of the abnormal comes out very clearly in the language of the Baronga of East Africa, who have a special word to express it. Accordingly M. Junod, in his work *Les Baronga*, p. 477, when discussing the expression *yila* which is constantly on the lips of the people says that the expression *psa yila* answers to our "*not allowed*"; and that amongst certain phenomena described as *yila* are derogations from the laws of physical nature. Such, for example, as the bringing of twins into the world, *psa yila*. The second class of phenomena are those which are a derogation from universal and observed custom. It may, however, be doubted whether the distinction would be made by the savage mind. We suspect "twins" belong just as much under M. Junod's second class as under the first. *Psa yila* would seem to be the Baronga translation of what the South Sea islander calls "taboo."

[3] For example, Jeremias, *Das alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, p. 20, deduces the origin of the myth of the Dioscuri from the opposition of the Sun and Nergal (the Moon!), which are supposed to be a pair of twins separated from one another by the breadth of the Ecliptic, and only united once a year!

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connexion between the Twins and the stars must belong to the reflections of relatively recent civilization. But the Twins themselves have been believed in from the earliest days of human thought. Their legends, occurring no doubt spontaneously at many points of human history, have almost as long a record as the race itself.

But when we have thus referred the Heavenly Twins to the early explanation of a perplexing natural phenomenon, we are in a position to go a step or two further, as we try to realize the situation which furnishes the starting-point of the legends.

The simplest form, then, which we have yet detected of the cult of the Dioscuri shows us a woman with two children and suggests to us a double paternity. Here we observe that the woman of the tale appears as the mother of the twins and not as the sister, as in the case of Castor and Polydeuces and their sister Helena, and as in the case of the Twins of the *Rig-Veda*, who take with them on their chariot the virgin Surya, who is the daughter of the Sun. We can hardly hesitate to conclude that the cult of the Dioscuri with Helen is based upon an earlier cult of Twins *plus* their mother. It must have often been noticed how superfluous Helen is in the legends of the Dioscuri: it is not, however, a very simple matter to explain how she came to be added to the company.

At all events, we have shown that the feature which seemed most Greek in the story of the Twins, viz. their description as an immortal-mortal pair, goes back to some of the earliest speculations of the human race, and we may be sure that the cult has had a history of extraordinary length. The earlier investigators of the meaning of the statement that the Twins were mortal and immortal stopped short of this primitive explanation. They discovered that in very early times there was a belief that the Morning and Evening Star were two distinct stars, and that Hesper and Phosphor were, in fact, twins. Hence they concluded, because one star was "up" when the other was "down," and because one was lost in the light before the rising sun and the other lost in the dark after the setting sun, that therefore they came to be described as

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mortal and immortal. But it now appears that the explanation was earlier and simpler. The Twins were identified with the supposed pair of stars because they were immortal and mortal. The distinction was earlier than the astronomical identification. It is certainly very remarkable that the roots of a belief should go so far down into the strata of the past. It is a far cry from Sparta to British Guiana, and from Greek culture to Indian savagery. We will now show that it is possible to go further back in the history of the cult than the form which we find current in British Guiana.

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CHAPTER II.

That, in the earliest stages of human evolution, twins are taboo, without distinction between them, and that their mother shares the taboo with them.

WE now pass from British Guiana to the West Coast of Africa, where we shall find the taboo on twins in a still earlier form, without any trace of reflection upon dual paternity or spirit parentage. And we shall be able to trace the modification of the taboo, and how it oscillates between a sense of certain danger or a conviction of something good and sacred, and also to notice how the taboo becomes restricted, as regards the mother and as regards a selected one of the twins.

Our first field of study will be the tribes in the regions watered by the Niger and the Congo, and we will introduce the matter by some extracts from the journals and writings of travellers and missionaries who have laboured in those regions. We will begin with an extract from Miss Mary Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa*, p. 324:

"All children are thrown [into the bush] who have not arrived in this world in the way considered orthodox, or who cut their teeth in an improper manner. *Twins are killed among all the Niger Delta tribes*, and in districts out of English control *the mother is killed too*, except in O-mon, where the sanctuary is. These twin mothers and their children are exiled to an island in the Cross River. They have to remain on the island, and if any man goes across and marries one of them, he has to remain on the island too. This twin-killing is a widely diffused custom among the negro tribes."

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Here, then, we have the primitive taboo staring us in the face, and we see its first modifications, as exile is substituted for death, and as the mother escapes (under foreign influence) the fate of the children. There can be no doubt what the primitive custom was. Miss Kingsley continues:

"There is always *a sense of there being something uncanny about twins* in West Africa, and in those tribes where they are not killed they are regarded as requiring great care to prevent them from dying on their own account.....

"The terror with which twins are regarded in the Niger Delta is exceedingly strange and real. When I had the honour of being with Miss Slessor at Okyon [Miss Slessor is a lady missionary who has found her field of service amongst the tribes described by Miss Kingsley], the first twins in that district were saved from immolation owing entirely to Miss Slessor's great influence with the natives and her own unbounded courage and energy. The mother in this case was a slave-woman, an Eboe, the most expensive and valuable of slaves. She was the property of a big woman, who had always treated her—as indeed most slaves are treated in Calabar—with great kindness and consideration, but when these two children arrived all was changed; immediately she was subject to torrents of virulent abuse, her things were torn from her, her English china basins, possessions she valued most highly, were smashed, her clothes were torn and she was driven out as an unclean thing."

We observe here, what is often noticed amongst savages, that the taboo upon an individual extends to his property. The clothes, furniture, and probably the hut, are affected by the taboo. Miss Kingsley goes on to describe how Miss Slessor saved the unfortunate mother and one of the children; the other one was already dead from rough handling. A new path had to be cut for their return to the village; if they had used the ordinary path it would have been polluted and no one would have travelled over it. The attitude of the natives towards the rescued child was significant. "They would not touch it, and only approached it after some days, and then only when it was held by Miss Slessor and me....Even its own mother could not be trusted with the child; she would have killed it. She never

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betrayed the slightest desire to have it with her, and after a few days' nursing and feeding up she was anxious to go back to her mistress, who, being an enlightened woman, was willing to have her, if she came without the child. The woman...would have to live for the rest of her life an outcast, and for a long time in a state of isolation, in a hut of her own, which no one would enter, neither would any eat or drink with her, nor partake of the food and water she had cooked or fetched. She would lead the life of a leper, working in the plantation by day, and going into her lonely hut by night, shunned and cursed."

Here then we have a very vivid picture of the extent to which the birth of twins produces a state of taboo. It will be noticed that there is no distinction made between the children. If only one had been subject to taboo, the instinct of the mother would have identified the uncanny child with the dead one; but both are equally uncanny and their mother is taboo with them: everything connected with them shares the curse.

Miss Kingsley concludes her pathetic picture of the poor woman upon whom the curse had lighted as follows: "She would sit for hours singing, or rather, moaning out a kind of dirge over herself. 'Yesterday I was a woman, now I am a horror, a thing all people run from. Yesterday they would talk to me with a sweet mouth, now they greet me with curses and execrations. They have smashed my basin, they have torn my clothes,' and so on, and so on. There was no complaint against the people for doing these things, only a bitter sense of injury against some superhuman power that had sent this withering curse of twins down on her."

Perhaps in defining the curse as the work of a superhuman power Miss Kingsley has travelled a little beyond the mental position of the negro woman, and anticipated a later step that will be taken in the explanation of the phenomena.

Now let us confirm Miss Kingsley's observations by some missionary reports: we will turn to a little book by Mr Goldie called *Calabar and its Mission*, where we find as follows (p. 24):

"Whether the most unnatural of the customs prevailing among the Calabar people, the destruction of the infant twin-born, originated in reluctance to undertake the care of their

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upbringing it is hard to say. Eventually it took the place [? the form] of an act of obedience demanded by the objects of their idolatry, and, strange to say, it is most strenuously supported by the women, though they suffer most from it. The mother, who was visited with the much-dreaded affliction of a twin-birth, was no doubt formerly destroyed with her infants: but we found on our arrival, that though she was driven out of the town and mourned for as dead, she was permitted to live in the farm districts, and a hamlet was built on the outskirts of each town, called the twin-mothers' village, in which those resided who were undergoing the banishment for life."

It is interesting to observe the way in which the original taboo becomes modified, and it might be a subject of enquiry whether traces of twin-mother villages are to be found in other countries[1]. Mr Goldie gives some instances of the extent to which the taboo on twins still prevails:

"The wife of Okun Nyamsi, the teacher at Eseko, came in one day to report the circumstance of a twin-birth in the neighbourhood. The father of the infants had carried them into the bush and buried them. Okun and his wife got notice of the matter, and he hurried out to see if anything could be done for them. The father refused at first to show the spot where he had put them, but, yielding to Okun's sharp rebuke, they were taken out of the hole still alive, but neither of them lived, and the poor mother would not look at them."

Mr Goldie continues with some similar cases; it is important to collect them, for we do not know what features in savage life may not be current in far more highly-evolved forms of human life, and we shall find that even apparently unimportant details will reappear in communities that are widely separated from one another by space as well as time. Mr Goldie quotes a note which he received from Asuqua Ekanem, a native missionary at Ikunetu, as follows:

"On Wednesday morning a lad came and told us of a twin-birth at a farm. Ekpenyong Ndang (a native assistant) and I

[1] For instance Branchidae was originally known as Didymi, and the temple of the place is dedicated to Apollo Didymaeus, *i.e.* to Apollo of Didymi. But there may be many reasons for calling a place Twin-town.

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went out immediately and saw the woman in the bush. She was weeping very much, and we tried to comfort her, but she would not listen. We asked her to go home with us, but she refused, nor would she receive any help. *She would rather die than be a twin-mother.* We asked for the infants, but all were afraid to tell us. At last one boy, on the promise of a shirt, led us to a pot lying under a palm-tree. On turning it up we found two little girls squeezed into it. We wrapped them up and brought them home, and put them into a warm bath. One of them died after the bath, for the people had wounded it on the head, and cut her hands and face and broken one of her ribs."

Another instance is given by Mr Goldie from a brother missionary, Mr Timson of Ikorofiong, who states that "on the dreaded calamity of a twin-birth occurring in the household of a man who pretended to be his friend, the said friend had thrown both mother and child into the river, and thought it strange he should be rebuked for so doing." Mr Timson had the pleasure shortly after of rescuing by force the first twin child of the Ibibio tribe preserved from the wonted doom. The infant was a little girl, who is now the wife of an assistant-teacher at Ikorofiong station; but for years the heads of the village where she was born insisted that she should be brought back from Creek Town (where she had for safety been taken) and that she should be killed.

It is important that we should get a just idea of the extent to which the abhorrence of twins is rooted in the savage mind, and of its extraordinary persistence. For we shall presently show that the belief that twins are uncanny persisted, in a more advanced and non-abhorrent form, in the Christian Church all over Europe; and it is interesting to contrast with its persistence in an amicable form in the Christian Church the similar conservatism of the hostile feeling in the savage mind. And under the same head we may examine what happened when the savages of Nigeria embraced Christianity in its more modern form, from which the belief in the great Twin Brethren had disappeared; for we shall find that while they accepted the Christianity which was presented to them, they could not rid themselves of the belief in the malign influence

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of twins, any more than the people of middle Europe could rid themselves of the belief in the helpfulness of the great Twin Brethren, and so for a long while the native Christians in the Calabar region refused to allow the membership of twin children or their mother in the Churches which had been formed amongst them.

Returning to the general phenomenon of these regions, the detestation of twin-bearing and twin-births, we begin to look round for traces not only of modification of the ruthless custom of the primeval savage, but also of modification of the belief itself, and we shall find, to our surprise, that it sometimes happens that quite adjacent tribes take opposite views of the matter, the one regarding it as a case of uncanny evil, the other of mysterious good.

For example, I am informed by my friend, Mr J. Marcus Brown, who was for some time a missionary on the Oil Rivers, that among the Fang tribes of the interior twins were formerly regarded as monstrosities and were killed, and that this is still the custom in some tribes, whilst amongst others it is now usual to kill only one. It would be interesting to know the mental process by which the tribes in question arrived at this modification of the ancient rule and the reasons they give for it and the selection of the surviving child. We seem here to be drawing near to the point of view of the Guiana Indians.

The contrast between the customs of adjacent tribes is most conspicuous in such a case as is given by Mr Goldie, who, after describing the way in which King Eyo suppressed twin infanticide in his own tribe, remarks that "amongst the Ekoi tribe, at no great distance from us, when a twin-birth occurs they make it an occasion of rejoicing, and her neighbours present gifts to the happy mother[1]."

[1] Here again Mr Goldie's observations bring out the extent to which the taboo affects the dwelling and the property as well as the persons: he tells us that "a small tribe near Ikorofiong killed both mother and children: the people of Akaba, another small tribe in our neighbourhood, drive the poor mother into the bush and allow her to perish of want. The Calabar people sometimes pick them up, the women going to the side of the river to hail any canoe passing. Another tribe drives off both father and mother, but the father is allowed to return to society on paying a fine, and catching a certain animal without

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When we were referring to observations on the question of twins in W. Africa made by Miss Mary Kingsley, it would have been proper to draw attention to the acknowledgement which she made of her indebtedness to the missionaries of various societies, from whom she derived information as to the fetish rites in their districts. Amongst these a prominent place should be given to Dr R. H. Nassau, for forty years an American missionary in the French Congo. Dr Nassau has recently published a work, entitled *Fetichism in West Africa*, which is full of valuable material for the folk-lorist and anthropologist, though the treatment of the subject by the author is far from being scientific. On the subject of twins, Dr Nassau records his own observations and those of others. We learn from him that in the Gabun country twins are welcomed, though an expiatory ritual is practised over them: we also are informed that twins have fixed names amongst certain tribes, and that there are W. African tribes amongst whom they are objects of worship. From a West African newspaper, which Dr Nassau quotes without naming it, and without describing the locality or tribe to which the information refers, we learn that the worship of twins occurs every month, a point to which we shall probably have occasion to refer later.

But perhaps we had better transcribe certain notes from Dr Nassau's collection, as one never knows when or where the parallel to a West African custom may turn up, and we are dealing, as will be seen clearly enough as the enquiry proceeds, with a custom which prevailed over almost the whole world.

Dr Nassau, then, reports as follows[1]:

"Mr Arnot states that in Garengauze 'cases of infanticide are very rare. Twins, strange to say, are not only allowed to live, but the people delight in them.' Though they are not regarded as monstrosities deserving death, as among the Calabar people on the west coast, it is nevertheless considered necessary that certain preservative ceremonies should be performed on the infants and their parents."

wounding it. The house in which a twin-birth occurs is commonly pulled down."

[1] *Fetichism in W. Africa*, p. 205.

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Then follows an account of the purification of the parents, who present their offspring ceremonially to the king of the tribe. The following description is given by Mr Swan, a colleague of Mr Arnot, mentioned above:

"An elderly woman came forward, with a dish in her left hand and an antelope's tail in her right. When she reached Msidi [the king], I was astonished at her dipping the tail in the dish and dashing the liquid over his face. Msidi's wife had a like dose. But my surprise increased when she came to us and gave us a share. What was in the dish I cannot say, but it struck me as possessing a very disagreeable odour. This discourteous creature was the Ocimbanda (fetich-doctor). She did not cease her dousing work till she had favoured all sitting round...The king then went into the house, and his wife came out with some cloth, which she tied round the mother's waist; and then a piece of cloth was given to the husband. The friends had brought some native beer; and when Msidi came out, he went to one of the pots, filled his mouth, spouting the beer in his wife's face: she did the same to him, after which the spouting became general...They told me it was their custom to act thus when twins were born[1]."

Dr Nassau notes further that, if one child should die out of the pair (*i.e.* in a country where twins are honoured), an image is made of the departed child and placed by the living one. "In the Benga tribe, thirty-five years ago, I observed that when one of a pair of twins died, a wooden image was substituted for it in the bed or cradle-box, alongside of the living child. I strongly suspected Animism in the custom[2]; but some Christians explained that the image was only a toy, so that the living babe should not miss the presence of an object resembling its mate[3]."

[1] From Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 81, we find that twins have a tutelary deity, called Ibeji among the Yorubas, and corresponding to the god Hoho of the Ewe-speaking tribes. Here Ibeji = twins, and Hoho has a twin-like appearance. There is also a small black monkey, sacred to Ibeji, a kind of twin totem. Twins are commonly named after it, or rather one of them is so named.

[2] That is, as Ellis explains, the image is for the spirit of the dead child to enter into, and not for the amusement or comfort of the living child, except in the negative sense, that the spirit of the dead is kept from worrying the living.

[3] On p. 270 we are told of the "Yoruba custom of having images carved of

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With regard to the names of twins, Dr Nassau remarks that in certain tribes twins have the same names. "In Benga they are always Ivaha (a wish) and Ayĕnwĕ (unseen). These names are given irrespective of sex. But not every man or woman whom one may meet with these names is necessarily a twin." "Among the Egba tribes of the Yoruba country...they are given twin names, which, of course differ in different languages. Among the Egbas, the firstborn is Taiwo, *i.e.* 'the first to taste the world,' and the other Kehende, *i.e.* 'the one who comes last[1].'"

We have now sufficiently shown from W. African customs that the taboo on twins is very early in human evolution; most of the African tribes agree that twins are uncanny, but some think them lucky, others unlucky: some tribes kill and some exile both the mother and the child; even those who welcome them use special ceremonies for averting evil. There appears to be no trace of the belief of a dual parentage, nor any idea that one of the children is of a spirit-ancestry[2].

Now let us go into S. Africa and see whether we find similar beliefs and customs to those which we have found in such elementary forms amongst the negroes of the Niger and the Oil Rivers[3]. Our best guide will be a Swiss missionary, M. Junod, who has laboured amongst the Baronga tribes of Portuguese S. Africa, not far from Delagoa Bay[4].

dead twins, and that the carving of these images is a flourishing and money-making trade. If the parents of the dead child are in comfortable circumstances the carvers tell them that they have seen in their dreams the dead twin and that he or she has asked them to send such and such clothes, articles of food, money, &c."

[1] Is this the original meaning of the name Jacob?

[2] But against this note that in the Ondo country they are said to destroy one of twins, and that amongst the Yorubas the totem name appears to be given to one of the two children. It is difficult to think the selection wholly arbitrary: and, even if it were, we may be sure that an explanation would soon be found which would remove it from the class of arbitrary actions.

[3] From the Congo Free State I have no information except of a negative character. It seems that in this district the treatment of twins is normal: both are brought up, and there is no ill-treatment of the mother. So Dr W. Holman Bentley, who has had twenty-five years' experience of life on the Congo.

[4] M. Junod's work is entitled, *Les Ba-ronga*, étude ethnographique sur les indigènes de la Baie de Delagoa; it was published at Neuchatel in 1898 as the tenth volume of the *Bulletin de la Société Neuchateloise de Géographie.*

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From M. Junod, then, we learn that among the Baronga[1] the arrival in the world of two or three infants at a birth is regarded as a great misfortune, a defilement for which special rites of purification are required. He gives the description of what happens in such an event amongst the clan Zihlahla, beyond Tobane, where, after a multiple birth, the witch-doctor is at once sent for. Meanwhile the mother has to leave the village and take up her abode in a wretched hut which has been constructed for her in the neighbourhood. Here, then, we have the survival of the expulsion of the mother, which is such a cruel custom amongst the Calabar natives. The women of the neighbourhood take the opportunity to pray for rain; we shall return to this point presently. After certain dances and songs they throw water over the mother and children. M. Junod thinks this is the beginning of the ceremony of purification: it is more likely that it is a part of the rain-charm to which we have just alluded. He then describes the taboo under which the mother and children are laid, a taboo so severe that the woman is not allowed to give food to her other children, and which necessitates the destruction by fire of her hut and all its furniture, except in so far as custom permits the witch-doctor to annex half the property, presumably because he is superior to the risks that spring from the taboo. It will be remembered that the same custom was in vogue on the Oil Rivers, with the exception of what is excepted in the case of the medicine-man. The taboo continues to affect both the growing children and their mother. If they should approach the native village they are driven away, and ashes are thrown at them with cries of, "Go away, children of the sky." Here we have the new and striking modification, to which we shall have to give special attention presently, that the sky is in some way concerned with their parentage. To such an extent is dislike for twins carried, that when a naughty child has to be reproved or reviled, it is sufficient to tell it that it is as bad as a twin. As regards the taboo on the mother, the custom is that, after a year of isolation, she is permitted to go away by herself to some distant place where she will be unknown: or, on the other hand, she may

[1] *Les Ba-ronga*, p. 412.

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take two years' isolation and then return to her husband. Here we have again a modification of the expulsion and exile which is practised in the Calabar region.

M. Junod quotes some interesting details of the treatment of twins from the letters of Mme. Eberhardt, the wife of a missionary at Antioka. A poor woman who had given birth to twins was found under a tree, with her children lying on the ground beside her. All the women of the neighbourhood were there, uttering piteous laments.

"What is the matter?" said Mme. Eberhardt.

"Oh! don't you know that it is a great misfortune to have borne twins?"

"Do you see," added another, "the grandfather wished immediately to kill one of them, but we prevented him?"

"Wretch," said Mme. Eberhardt, "if he does that, he will be seized by the Portuguese."

Then follows an account of how Mme. Eberhardt rescued the woman from the open field, to which she had been driven, and where, according to custom, she should have remained, and took her to the Mission House: after which comes a horrid account of the lustration of the poor creature by the witch-doctor, who seems to have collected everything nasty for the purpose of her purification, and poured it on her. The importance of the account does not, however, lie in the composition of the medicine, but in the way in which evidence is brought forward for the custom of killing *one* of the twins: the grandfather, here, stands for the previous generations, and we need have no hesitation in saying that it used to be the custom amongst the Baronga to kill one of the pair of twins. Here we are more advanced than in Calabar, and not very far removed from the practice of British Guiana. We have also detected the traces of sky-parentage and that the twins have something to do with the giving of rain, two important points which must be examined into more closely. M. Junod records not only the case of the Baronga, who regard twins as of evil omen, but also points out the customs of other South African tribes, and that there are those who regard twins as a blessing rather than a bane, a feature which we had already come across in Nigeria and the French Congo.

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He tells us (p. 415) that the customs with regard to twins vary from one clan to the next. In certain tribes they are a blessing, in others they are looked upon as a curse. At Tembé and Matolo the women desire to be the mothers of twins, and they will beg from twin-mothers portions of the fat with which they anoint their offspring, in order that, if possible, they may transfer fertility with the ointment. Amongst these people the hut of the twin-mother is not burnt and the twin-children are proud of their title. In the same way, the Hereros of German South-west Africa consider a multiple birth one of the happiest events that can befall them. Amongst these people on the West Coast, in the very same latitude as the Baronga on the East Coast, it is the custom to give the parents of twins the right to exact a ransom from their neighbours, as though the danger from the twins threatened the tribe rather than the individual. The customs of these people are described by a missionary named Daunert, in the *Folklore Journal* of Cape-Town for November, 1880; he tells us that the father and mother of twins are condemned to a rigid silence, for fear of bringing down curses on those with whom they converse. The whole of the tribe is assembled, and they bring their cattle with them. The family of the twins is received by them with lamentations, each member of the tribe presents some pearls or other ornaments, after which the father and mother undergo purification by a witch-doctor's powder. After this the father is allowed to go round the village and collect an ox from every hut; he becomes in this way a rich man.

M. Junod is perplexed over customs which are apparently so self-contradictory. He finds it hard to explain the difference between the treatment of twins among the Baronga, for instance, and those just described among the Hereros. His attempt at an explanation is that the blessing or malediction results from a sense of awe caused by the mysterious presence of an unknown factor in the shape of the sky. We shall have to recognize this factor presently, and no doubt it is a sufficient cause of religious terror; but as we have found the same diversity of treatment amongst tribes lower down the scale than the Baronga or Hereros, and apparently without any

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sense of the intervention of the sky, we can hardly accept M. Junod's explanation, or regard the toll of oxen as a ransom intended for the celestial power. The explanation seems to be further back in the perplexing and contradictory mind of primitive man.

Further north than the Baronga, we have some recent information in Capt. Merker's interesting account of the customs and traditions of the Masai. These nomads are held by him to be the descendants of one of the numerous Semitic immigrations from Asia into Africa, and to have preserved in their cults and traditions many traces of early Arabian life and religion. It is interesting to notice that twins are regarded by the Masai as a blessing and not a curse. Merker tells us that they desire male children rather than female, which is a common feature of most of the human species, but that *above all they wish for twin children*[1]. When twins are born it is customary for one to be entrusted to the mother, and the other to some other woman of the same kraal. The twins are decorated with a necklace made of leather and cowrie-shells, which serve as a distinction and illustrate the paternal pride. There appear to be no signs of any special purification.

We shall see, later on, that the Masai traditions which are so closely parallel to those preserved in the Pentateuch enable us to detect some Dioscuric features in certain Biblical stories where we might otherwise have failed to recognize them[2].

If now we cross over to Madagascar we shall find traces of the twin-superstition: and as the population of Madagascar is Malay and not Negroid, it looks as if the belief about twins had come to them from the east and not from the west. At all events it was the custom, not long since, to exile or kill one

[1] Merker, *Die Masai*, p. 51.

[2] They have also a curious and impossible tradition about the birth of twins, where the interval between the elder and younger is imagined to be as long as three months, a curious belief of which Merker reports parallels in the Talmud. We may refer to T. B. Niddah 27ᵃ. "It happened that the second child (of a pair) did not come into the world till 33 days after the other." In another case not till three months, and the Rabbi adds, "Behold they are sitting before me in the Beth ha-Midrash; 'Who are they?' Judah and Hezekiah, the sons of R. Chiya."

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of a pair of twins. From Mr Standing's book, *Children of Madagascar* (p. 31), we learn that "Twins were also considered unlucky, and one would often be sent away to be brought up by someone else or even *put to death as soon as born*"; and my friend, Miss E. M. Clark, who belongs to the same mission[1] as Mr Standing, informs me that she has heard it stated that in some parts of the island the custom was in vogue not very long since.

It will not escape the student of Classical Archeology that, while we are recording the folk-lore of East and West Africa, we are throwing light upon the early traditions of Roman History. Macaulay's description of the birth of Romulus and Remus will come to mind:

> "Slain is the Pontiff Camers
> Who spake the words of doom:
> 'The children to the Tiber:
> The mother to the tomb.'"

That is to say, in Rome also, twins were taboo and their mother taboo with them, and the taboo was of the West African type. The story of the lapsed Vestal who was mother of Romulus and Remus is an attempt to explain to a later age the taboo on the mother of twins.

But now let us return to the Baronga and their reference of twin children to the parentage of the sky, and to the influence which they ascribe to them in the production of rain[2].

[1] Society of Friends' Madagascar Mission.

[2] In demonstrating the reality and the wide-spread belief in the "taboo" on twins, it is amusing to record one case in which it survives in our own country with regard to animals. There was a farmer in Wales who had a cow which had borne twin calves, and he desired to sell her *for fear of ill-luck or misfortune that might affect him in consequence*. The superstition is said to be common in Cardiganshire and in S. Wales generally. See *Notes and Queries*, November 19, 1904.

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CHAPTER III.

That Twins, under certain conditions, become Heavenly Twins and are known as the Children of the Sky.

THE Twins in the *Rig-Veda* are credited with an interest in agriculture and in the needs of the agriculturist; they, themselves drive the plough as well as the chariot, and they have connexion with wind, rain, and dew. Surprising as this may seem to those who approach the subject on the military side and who learned to know them as gigantic heroes riding upon colossal horses, there seems to be no doubt that like so many of the Greek gods they were "sheep in wolves' clothing": they concealed under their martial array a peaceable and necessary life as shepherds or agriculturists. And if Ares and Athena can be traced back to deities of vegetation, I do not see why we should be so very astonished that the Dioscuri disclose affinities with the ploughman, that they appear as the inventors of his implements, and that they help him with the necessary rain from heaven. Indeed the Indian poets saw no discordance between the callings, but praised them in the same breath:

> "You, O Açvins, that lay enemies low, sow grain with the plough, and milk out the quickening streams of water for men."

It will be interesting to determine whether these occupations of the Twins are early in their historical development, and, if so, how early. It has long been observed that, amongst savage people, agriculture is of the woman, just as war and hunting are of the man. Whether we are investigating North

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American Indians, South Africans, or the forefathers of the Greeks whose customs and beliefs survive in their ancient rituals, the same truth comes to light; that agriculture is a feminine craft. Accordingly Jevons says[1]:

"The cultivation of plants was one of woman's contributions to the development of civilization; and it is in harmony with this conjecture that the cereal deities are usually, both in the Old World and the New, female. The agricultural or semi-agricultural mysteries, therefore, from which even in civilized times women used to exclude men, may be survivals of early times, when agriculture was a cult as well as a craft, a mystery as well as a ministerium, and when, further, the craft (and therefore the cult) was the exclusive prerogative of the wives of the tribe."

Mr Jevons proceeds to argue that cultivated plants were originally totems and that cereals were originally sex-totems.

It is evident that if there were, to the mind of the savage, such a connexion between the productive power of life in woman, and the productive power of life in a cereal, it would go far to explain why the woman had charge of agriculture and its processes. Miss Harrison brings the analogy out very clearly in her recent work[2], and says:

"In days when man was mainly concerned with hunting and fighting it was natural enough that agriculture and the ritual attendant on it should fall on the women. Moreover to this social necessity was added, and still is among many savage communities, a deep-seated element of superstition. 'Primitive man,' Mr Payne observes[3], 'refuses to interfere in agriculture; he thinks it magically depends for success on woman, and is connected with child-bearing.' 'When the women plant maize,' said the Indian to Gumilla, 'the stalk produces two or three ears. Why? because women know how to produce children. They only know how to plant corn and ensure it germinating. Then let them plant it, they know more than we know.' Such seems to have been the mind of the men at Athens who sent

[1] *Introduction to the History of Religion*, p. 240.
[2] *Prolegg. to Greek Religion*, p. 272.
[3] *Hist. of the New World*, Vol. II. p. 7.

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their wives and daughters to keep the Thesmophoria and work their charms and ensure fertility for crops and men."

But if this be a correct statement, or even a partially correct statement of the reasons for the influence of primitive woman on early agriculture, it will almost follow as a consequence, which even the savage mind can draw, that the woman who has borne twins will have greater influence in agriculture, and a higher authority in agricultural cults, than the ordinary woman who only produces her children one at a time. For, to use the illustration of the Indian quoted above, "Her stalk produces two or three ears." And that this is the case we are able to verify in a variety of ways. For example, we hear from Uganda that when the natives desire to produce an especially fine crop of plantains they "medicine" the fruit by contact with the body of a woman who has borne twins. In the same way we find all over the world that when rain is needed for the crops the natural rain-maker is a woman who is the mother of twins. And from this it is only one step further to regard the twins themselves as the cause of the fertility desired and as the agents for producing the requisite rain from heaven. This point is brought out with clearness and detail in the sections of the *Golden Bough* which deal with rain-charms and associated matters. For example[1], we are told that "among the Shushwap Indians of British Columbia, twins are credited with the making of good or bad weather at pleasure." And again[2], "among the Nootkas of British Columbia twins are believed to have the power of making good or bad weather." And again, "The Baronga, on the shores of Delagoa in South-eastern Africa, ascribe to twins the same power of influencing the weather which is attributed to the Nootkas far away on the Pacific coast of North America. They bestow the name of *Tilo*, that is, the sky, on a woman who has given birth to twins, and the infants themselves are called the *children of the sky*." The importance of this observation will be evident to anyone who will reflect that we have here among the Baronga the exact equivalent of the Greek Διόσκουροι.

[1] Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I. 83.
[2] *G. B.* I. 90, 91.

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Mr Frazer, in transcribing the account from the Swiss missionary Junod, adds in a note the remark that the "reason for calling them *children of the sky* is obscure." But if we reflect that Zeus is a sky-god and the Dioscuri his children, we see at once what it means to call them by the equivalent name in the language of the Baronga. Is it certain that it is the woman who is called Tilo[1]? that title belongs rather to the invisible parent, who has by this time annexed to his family both of the twins. The account of the actual method of producing rain, as given by M. Junod, brings out very clearly the importance in the ritual of both the mother and the children. The women, clad in leaves, go the round of the wells and springs and cleanse them. After that "the women must repair to the house of one of their gossips who has given birth to twins, and must drench her with water, which they carry in little pitchers[2]. ...When they have cleansed the wells they must go and pour water on the graves of their ancestors in the sacred grove. It

[1] M. Junod's statement is as follows (*Les Ba-ronga*, p. 414): "Cette puissance, qui produit l'éclair et la mort, préside aussi d'une manière toute spéciale à la *naissance des jumeaux*, à tel point que la femme qui les a mis au monde est appelée du nom de *Tilo*, ciel, et les enfants eux-mêmes: Bana ba Tilo, enfants du Ciel." (*Ib.* p. 418) "Pour que le Ciel donne de la pluie, il faut l'arroser! La mère des jumeaux, les jumeaux eux-mêmes sont des êtres que le Ciel a distingués au point qu'ils s'appellent *Ciel*. Donc il faut leur verser de l'eau dessus!" The passage seems too strongly worded. The children are not called sky, but sky-boys: and it is doubtful if the mother is called sky.

It is interesting to notice that the name Tilo is also used to express thunder and lightning. In a story told by M. Junod of the production and purification of twins (with rain-making?), the ceremonies are described as taking place under a great tree. The thunder-god has his habitation in a tree, usually in an oak.

[2] M. Junod says that when a woman has borne twins she is immediately visited by all the women of the neighbourhood, who drench her and her offspring with water and chant over her a rain-charm. As we have pointed out already, the pouring of water has nothing to do with purification, it is the usual sympathetic magic for rain-making. M. Junod describes the chant as follows:

"Toutes les femmes du pays se rassemblent; elles partent dans toutes les directions au Nord, au Sud, à l'Est, à l'Ouest pour puiser de l'eau dans de vieilles calabasses à tous les lacs, dans tous les puits de la contrée avoisinante. Elles s'en vont en sautillant sur la pointe des pieds et en chantonnant un chant spécial appelé le *mbelelo*:

mbelélo, mbelélo! mpfoula à yi né!
mbelélo, mbelélo! que la pluie tombe."

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often happens, too, that at the bidding of the wizard they will go and pour water *on the graves of twins*[1]."

Enough has been brought forward to establish the fact that a woman who has borne twins, as well as the children themselves, are especially influential in the induction of fertility, and in the necessary factor of that induction, the charming of rain from the skies.

We see now the origin of the term Dioscuri; it is no peculiar Greek idea, but one which arose at a very early period of human civilization; and we see how the Dioscuri came to be regarded as the patrons of agriculture and the bestowers of rain, as in the verses quoted from the *Rig-Veda*. The function assigned to the Twins is no peculiarity of Indo-Germanic civilization. We have shown that it exists amongst savages who are as far apart as Eastern Africa from Western America.

It will be noticed that the cult of the Twins, as disclosed in this chapter, is slightly more advanced than what we remarked in the case of the Indians in British Guiana, in that both the Twins are now credited to the spirit-father and named after him. But even in the Greek legends of the Dioscuri we can still trace the fluctuating opinion of the early peoples, for the Greek Twins are sometimes called Dioscuri, and sometimes Tyndaridae, and sometimes they are assigned to their respective fathers, Polydeuces to Zeus and Castor to Tyndareus. We can hardly doubt that the name Dioscuri, or its equivalent, is a very early invention of man in his first thinking times. And we may also be sure, from the extraordinary variety of functions assigned to the Greek Twins and to those of the *Rig-Veda*, that their origin must be in a very distant past, and the evolution of their cult a part of the oldest religion of the world.

We ought not to leave the consideration of this part of the subject without reminding ourselves that a parallel form to the Greek "Dioscuri" and the African "Children of Tilo" was

[1] This custom of pouring water on the graves is still practised by the Armenians of Aintab at the festival which they call Vartevar, and which is the survival of an ancient rain-festival. But I could not obtain, on a recent visit, any suggestion that there was a preference shown to the graves of twins, as is said to be the case among the Baronga.

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brought to light by Mannhardt in his famous study of the folk-songs of Lithuania, where we read of the *dewa deli*, "sons of God" (or "sons of the sky"?), who ride upon a chariot, and liberate the daughter of the Sun.

We must not assume these Lithuanian beliefs to be as independent of the Greek legends as we may naturally assume the superstitions of the Baronga to be. They should be classified with the Greek forms, as coming from a common Indo-Germanic origin.

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CHAPTER IV.

That the Twins, as the patrons of fertility, are known amongst Semitic as well as amongst Aryan peoples.

As soon as we have recognized the part which the Twins and their mother play in the processes of agriculture and in the fertilisation and growth of the crops, as has been shown in the preceding chapter, it follows that they will also be the patrons of fertility in the human species as well as in plant life[1]. Indeed it is natural to suppose that their effect upon growth and multiplication would be sensible in their human subjects even sooner than amongst plants, which, to us moderns, would seem to be more distant from the operating causes. However this may be, we may be sure that, sooner or later, an influence which is believed to operate upon the sown and planted fields will also be looked for in the conjunctions of the human race. We shall accordingly find (*a*) that the Twin brethren have a care over the nuptials of the young, (*b*) that they are able to reinforce the declining vigour of the aged. Under the first of these heads we can at once range a number of beliefs with their associated legends; for instance, the Roman gods, Picumnus and Pilumnus, who preside over marriages and births, are evidently a pair of twins; their names alone would suggest that relation, apart from the fact that they are credited with doughty deeds in the Dioscuric manner. Under the same head must be arranged all those peculiar features in the Syriac Acts of Thomas, where Jesus and His assumed twin brother are represented as taking part in the festivities or appearing in connexion with the sanctities of a royal wedding. Under the

[1] Cf. what Pliny says of the planet Venus (*H. N.* II. 6): "Huius natura cuncta generantur in terra. Namque in alterutro exortu genitali rore conspergens, non terrae modo conceptus implet, verum animantium quoque omnium stimulat."

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second head we shall probably be able to establish in the Semitic literature a remarkable case of the intervention of the Dioscuri.

But before we come to this, let us observe that the Acts of Thomas, to which we have referred above, is an Edessan document, and even though it professes to describe Indian scenes, the customs described will be Edessan. We thus are able to infer the cult of the Twins in Edessa, and in the lectures on *the Dioscuri in the Christian legends* we were able to confirm this belief in a variety of ways. And the twins whom we thus discover are not Greek twins, but Semitic. This is not proved from the Acts of Thomas themselves, though these Acts are written in original Syriac, for the Edessan religion may have taken a Greek colouring, either from the Macedonian colonists who settled there or from other sources. What convinces us is that we have conclusive evidence from Greek sources that the Sun was honoured in Edessa along with two assessors whose names are Monim and Aziz: now whatever may be the explanation of Monim, it is clear that Aziz is not a Greek name, it must be either Syriac or Arabic, and means *the mighty one*. We actually know it as an extant Arabic name. And if it should be Arabic and not Syriac, it would not surprise us, for it is well known that there is an Arabic strain in the names of the early princes of Edessa. But if the Twins of Edessa have Arabic or Syriac names, that almost establishes the fact that the Twins were as natural a cult to the Semite as to the Greek[1]. For the worship of the Twins has been shown to belong to the very earliest times and not to be a modern invention.

[1] One hesitates to speak too positively on the meaning of the name *Monim*. Julian, in describing the solar cult at Edessa, had equated it, following Iamblichus, with Hermes (=Nebo of the Assyrians). [See Julian, *Orat.* IV. p. 195.] Movers, in his work on the Phenicians, says that Monim stands for the Hebrew מעונן and is equivalent to the Greek *μάντις*. This explanation would throw light on that curious passage in the Book of Judges (ix. 37) where the enemies of Abimelech are seen coming from the way of the Oak of the Meonnanim, which the modern interpreter translates as the "Oak of the Enchanters," or "Wizards' Oak," but which earlier exegetes used to explain as the "Oak of the Cloud-compellers." Either explanation would suit the Dioscuri, and an oak is their natural and appropriate home. But in that case, should we not have to point the Hebrew word as a dual? And is the Mahanaim of Gen. xxxii. 1 a corruption of the same name or a substitute for it? It would be interesting if we could show that the Dioscuri came to the help of the wandering twin Jacob.

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The enquiry at once is suggested whether there are any other traces of the cult of the Twins in Semitic customs and literature. The first thing that occurs to us is that if the two great pillars at Edessa are really set up in honour of the Twins, considered from the point of view of the signs of the Zodiac, or identified with the morning and evening star, or with a pair of solar heroes, then we can hardly avoid making a similar enquiry for the two pillars which Solomon is said to have set up in the Temple at Jerusalem, and which were inscribed respectively with the names Jachin and Boaz. Closely connected with this investigation into the meaning of the sacred pillars of Solomon, is the enquiry into the meaning of the Talmudic tradition that a pair of cedar-trees (doubtless sacred cedars) stood in the forecourt of the Temple. For these sacred trees are always the home of deities, if they were not originally identified with them[1]. Up to the present time no satisfactory solution has been found of the Jachin-Boaz riddle, though various attempts have been made to turn the titles into divine names, by correcting Boaz into Baal and Jachin into Jahveh. Probably the interpretation will come out of its obscurity before very long. Meanwhile let us observe that the Biblical account of the pillars in the Temple makes them to be Tyrian work, and credits their inscription to the artist that planned them. And we shall be encouraged in our belief that the pillars are in honour of the Twins, if we can affirm on other grounds that the cult was one which was at home in Phenicia. When this question is stated, the answer can be given at once. Phenicia is headquarters for the cult of the Kabiri, or Great Ones, who are so closely allied to the Greek Dioscuri, that when we find a monument of the cult in a quarter which is both Greek and Phenician, like Samothrace, it becomes extremely difficult to say whether we ought to credit the work to the honour of the Dioscuri or the Kabiri. True, the Kabiri are often found as a triad[2], but it is by no means certain that the same thing may not be said, in

We shall see reason later on to believe that Esau and Jacob, before they were race-parents, were a couple of Dioscures.

[1] As Mr Frazer suggests.

[2] Later on, they will become seven. Cf. Sanchoniathon as quoted in Euseb. *Praep. Evan.* I. 10: *ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Συδὺκ Διόσκουροι ἢ Κάβειροι ἢ Κορύβαντες ἢ Σαμοθρᾶκες...οἱ ἑπτὰ Συδὲκ παῖδες Κάβειροι καὶ ὁ ἴδιος αὐτῶν ἀδελφὸς Ἀσκλήπιος.*

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certain places, of the Dioscuri. So here we have the parallel cult in Phenicia to the Greek cult, and there is no reason to suppose that either set of worshippers has borrowed from the other. They are independent modifications of similar reflections on the part of two early human clans, and we have as much right to call it a Semitic cult as a Greek cult. This being the case, the argument for the worship of Twins amongst Semitic peoples is reinforced all round, and, in particular, the belief that the pillars in the Temple at Jerusalem were Dioscuro-Kabiric is strongly reinforced. From this belief the next step would be as follows. Upon reflection that the cult of the Twins, as expressed in the Jachin and Boaz pillars, will certainly disappear with the growth of monotheistic ideas, we should look for further traces of the cult in the earlier history and in the earlier legends of the Jewish people, and we should expect that the further back we go, the more we should find, for the Twins do not belong to a late growth of polytheism but to the very earliest deposits. Accordingly we should expect traces of them in the Book of Genesis, and in those parts which, on general grounds, are believed to incorporate the earliest traditions.

At this point we may refer for a moment to two remarkable papers by François Lenormant in the *Contemporary Review* for February and April, 1880. The two articles are entitled "The First Murder and the Founding of the First City," and "The Genealogies between Adam and the Deluge." The writer wishes to show the primitive connexion between the Heavenly Twins and the invention of building, and also to bring out the connexion between the first building and the first murder. He starts from the idea that the signs of the Zodiac were at one time signs of the months that corresponded with them, that each sign has its associated legend and its appropriate symbol. Thus, if the old Semitic month is called Sivan, and if the meaning of Sivan is "mud[1]," then we may suggest that this is the month in which mud was made into bricks for building. But then the sign of the month is the "Heavenly Twins," which appears ideographically in Babylonian as a portion of an unfinished brick wall, and we may therefore say that in

[1] Compare the case of the city Sin and its Greek equivalent Pelusium.

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Mesopotamia the Twins are thrown into connexion with the baking of bricks and with building. The way is then open for a string of parallels with a number of pairs of legendary brethren, builders of cities, who are frequently twins, and of whom one commonly murders the other. The most obvious parallel is the case of Romulus [= Romus] and Remus; the least obvious is the case of Cain and Abel, for the suggestion is not yet confirmed that Cain and Abel were twins (though they may have been), nor that both of them were builders, nor that the building of Cain preceded the murder of Abel. Moreover, the names have nothing twin-like about them. We find them, indeed, called *Qabil* and Ḥebel in Arabic, but this is probably only due to misreading in an Arabic script. The name Cain is attested, too, by Sanchoniathon, who appears to turn it into Genos.

The folk-lore parallels to the story of the Building Twins, of whom one is a murderer, are so many that we are obliged to examine carefully the suggestions made by Lenormant. We may easily satisfy ourselves about the Twins as being the inventors and patrons of building, but we cannot so easily affirm Cain and Abel to be Dioscuri, though there are some things that look that way. Moreover, the method of Lenormant in proceeding from the signs of the Zodiac to the Twins labours under a fundamental misunderstanding. The cult of the Heavenly Twins is older by ages and ages than the signs of the Zodiac; and when the Twins appeared in the sky at all, they appeared first of all as invisible powers, then became located as Phosphor and Hesper, and only in the latest stage of all became a Zodiacal sign. The months also must have preceded the Zodiacal signs, and it is a pity to make the argument turn on what seems to be a chronological inversion of ideas. On the other hand, for the Twins as builders, and probably with a murder commemorated in their cult, there is plenty of folk-lore parallels of the earliest kind.

In the second of the two papers referred to, the writer studies the genealogies of the Sethite and Cainite families, and points out that each genealogy ends in a triad, the Sethites producing Shem, Ham and Japhet; and the Cainites Jabal,

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Jubal and Thubal. He then attempts to show that the months were originally named after (ten?) antediluvian patriarchs, of whom the best representation will be found in the signs of the Zodiac. Here, again, the argument shows more ingenuity than conviction, and we need not refer to it further, as it does not concern us. But the observation with regard to the Triads that appear in the genealogies of the supposed families of the human race is important. For there are Dioscuric and Kabiric touches in the account. The names are twin-like. We correct away the Cain out of Tubal-cain, which is a correction to Tubal which has wandered from the margin to the text, or a gloss upon it, and then we have Lamech's family as composed of

Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal;

moreover, it is significantly added that Tubal's sister is called Noema. We at once think of the grouping of Castor and Polydeuces with Helena. And the Biblical legend has added to the persons the crafts that they were patrons of: as that Jabal was patron of shepherds, Jubal of organists and Tubal of smiths and metal-workers. One thinks at once of the musical Amphion who helped his brother Zethus with the building of the walls of Thebes, and of Judas Thomas and his skill in making ploughs and yokes and all kinds of work in wood and stone.

It seems likely, then, that there are Dioscuric or Kabiric traces in the early genealogies[1].

And now leaving the very speculative ground of the genealogies, we come to a case which is very much clearer. Before discussing it, we must remind ourselves of certain functions of the Dioscuri which come to light in the *Rig-Veda* but which cannot be limited to the *Rig-Veda*. We allude (*a*) to the power which they have to restore declining sexual functions, (*b*) to the anger which they show towards those who offend them in matters that are directly under their care and patronage.

[1] The correction of Tubal to Cain, which is suggested by the Hebrew text, invites the idea of a correction in the inverse order. We might imagine a text in which the first brethren were Tubal and Ḥebel, and then the argument for twins would begin again. There is some reason, too, for thinking that Cain only means smith and that the supposed derivation of the name in Gen. iii. is mere philological byplay.

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With regard to the first point, it is hardly necessary to make a detailed statement; for, in the nature of the case, as we have shown above, the function of the Twins is to promote fertility in nature and in man. And the instances of their connexion with marriage rites are so common that it is not necessary to tabulate them here. The *Rig-Veda* may suffice for the establishment of the belief that the Dioscuri (or Açvins, as they are called in Sanskrit) can restore lapsed or declining sexual functions[1].

With regard to the second point, a more detailed proof is necessary. As a rule the Dioscuri are known as the benevolent friends of men, the "good Saviours[2]" to whom appeal is made in all troubles at home or abroad, in peace or war, on the land or sea. But this must not obscure the fact that they are sometimes extremely angry, and their wrath is greatly to be feared. Occasionally they destroy whole cities, and as a general principle they are capable of acting in two exactly contrary manners. They can make good weather, they can make bad weather; give rain or withhold rain; build a city or reduce it to ruins; open the eyes of the blind, or make those blind who now see. Some of these forms of anger are very early. For example, we have seen that the Nootka Indians refer both good and bad

[1] Myriantheus, *Die Açvins*, pp. 91—104, has a section devoted to the *Açvins* as deities of rejuvenescence. The passages examined are, some of them, very striking. But in the attempt to make all the descriptions of renewed vitality square with the phenomena of returning daylight and sunshine, we have explanations presented which are vitiated by the non-recognition of the antiquity of the Dioscuri or Açvins as a wide-spread human cult, preceding the identification of the Brethren with the Twilights or the stars. We do not question that, in many cases, the language used of the Açvins is best explained by phenomena of the Day and the Dawn, but even in these cases, there is an earlier and simpler cult to be recognized, and it is this earlier cult that furnishes the idea of fertility or of rejuvenescence.

Here are a few sentences from Myriantheus' German translations of the passages in the *Rig-Veda* which show the Dioscuri repairing lapsed sexual functions:

"You, O Açvins, made young again by your help the aged Çyavana."

"You took from the aged Çyavana his bodily husk like a garment; you made him young again, and women again provoked his desire."

"By your help you protected the [aged] Kali, so that he took a wife."

And so on.

[2] Cf. the "good Saviour" in Abgar's Letter to Jesus.

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weather to them. In the same way, the Messenians when worsted in battle attributed their defeat to the hostility of the Dioscuri, who were their normal and usual protectors. Some have suggested that, at the battle of the Lake Regillus, the patronage of Castor and Pollux was a Roman annexation of the patron saints of Latium, who had thus turned against their own side, and for some reason become angry with them. A number of similar cases can be found in Eitrem, *Die göttlichen Zwillinge* (p. 5), amongst which notice especially the punishment of the inhospitable Phormion and the reckless Aristomenes. It was an honour to entertain the Dioscuri, a disgrace to have received them ill, which they themselves were prompt to avenge. The honour of receiving them comes out clearly in Herodotus' story of one Euphorion who had received the Dioscuri and after that kept open house for everybody (*Εὐφορίωνος τοῦ δεξαμένου ...τοὺς Διοσκούρους καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ξεινοδοκέοντος πάντας ἀνθρώπους*). This last instance reminds us of a certain injunction to hospitality which is given in the New Testament (Heb. xiii. 1), on the ground that "some have entertained angels unawares." The reference is no doubt to the hospitality of Abraham when visited by the three angels; and, in view of the parallel furnished by the hospitable Euphorion, we are disposed to ask whether the story of the strangers received by Abraham may not be understood in the sense of a visit by the Dioscuri. There is a great deal that invites such an explanation. Angels do not properly belong to the first period of the Hebrew legends; when they do occur, they are the product of later reflection and may easily be the displacement of earlier forms of theophany. That the situation is what we call Dioscuric is a supposition that is invited by a consideration of the prominence given to the law of hospitality in the visit to Abraham, against which is set off on the other side the inhospitable character of the people of Sodom[1]. There can be no doubt that this is one

[1] We learn from Pindar (*Nem.* 10. 91) that the Dioscuri were entertained in Argos by one Pamphaos and that ever after the descendants of Pamphaos were under their protection. From Pindar, also, we learn that the worship of the Dioscuri in Agrigentum was due to a visit which they paid to that city, when they, with their sister Helena, were hospitably received by the race of the Eumenides (Pind. *Ol.* 3. 70). So closely was the honour of the Dioscuri, and

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of the leading motives of the story, and it exactly furnishes the situation for a visit of the Dioscuri.

In the next place, their visit to Abraham under the theophanic Oak or from it, is with the intention, or at all events has the consequence, of turning his clock backwards and making himself and his wife capable of producing offspring. This comes out suggestively in the Hebrew text, though it has been obscured by the treatment which the subject has received at the hands of the editors. We are told that the angels asked after Sarah (Gen. xviii. 9), and that one of them said: "I will surely return to thee according to the time of life and Sarah shall have a son." The Hebrew text of the passage is very obscure. It is commonly taken to mean that Jahveh said He would pay another visit to Sarah a year hence: and in this sense a later chapter observes that the Lord visited Sarah as He had said, and did according as He had spoken, at the very time promised. But the suggestion arises in our mind that this is a misunderstanding of a promise made to Abraham, that the Lord would surely cause to return to him the time of life, that is, the sexual vigour which he had lost. For this is what really happened ("His own body being now dead," as the writer to the Hebrews puts it). And the text ought to have a frank statement of the miracle that was going to happen. And this is how the passage was understood by the Targums; for Onkelos has combined two explanations, and tells us that "One of them said, Returning I will return to thee in the coming year; and *you shall be revived*, and behold, Sarah thy wife shall have a son"; for which the Jerusalem Targum has, "He said, Returning I will return to thee at that time, *to revive you*, and behold, Sarah thy wife shall have a male child." Here, then, we have the explanation of the words about "the time of life" in Genesis. And the miracle itself is one which in ancient times would be credited to the Açvins or to their parallels. So far the situation is clear. As to why, in the story, there appear to be sometimes two angels and sometimes three, the discrepancy, with many others in the account of the incident, may be due to the composite nature of the

the protection which they gave, connected with hospitalities which they had enjoyed.

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sources of the legend and the rough amalgamation of the editors. But the difficulty of interpretation would not be increased if we regard the visit as made by Zeus and the Dioscuri, or by Jahveh and the Kabiri, or if we simply say it is a composition of two accounts of a Kabiric visit, one of which had two Kabiri and the other three. It is not necessary to further emphasise the wholly legendary character of the incident.

When we turn to the destruction of Sodom, we are again reminded of the Dioscuri, by the saving of Lot and the destruction of the inhospitable men of Sodom, by the blinding of the savage mob, and by the final raining of fire and sulphur from heaven. And it is precisely in such parallels that we are able to establish that the story of the angel-visit is folk-lore and not fact. Dr Cheyne has done great service in bringing this out so clearly in his article on Sodom and Gomorrah in the *Encyclopedia Biblica*, although here as elsewhere the critic, who wishes to make use of his arguments, has to begin by subtracting a good deal of superimposed Jerahmeel matter. But Dr Cheyne is surely right when he says that to understand the story in question, you must begin by the study of the folk-lore parallels. If we follow his lead through the instances which he selects, we shall find that he establishes very clearly that the story belongs to folk-lore. But the strange thing is, that he did not recognize that some of the parallel matter was Dioscuric and that he had in his hand the key to the mysterious visit of the angels. For example, he begins with the story of "the punishment of the lawless city of Gortyna. The people of this city led a lawless existence as robbers. The Thebans, being their neighbours, were afraid, but Amphion and Zethus, the sons of Zeus and Antiope, fortified Thebes by the magic influence of Amphion's lyre. Those of Gortyna came to a bad end through the divine Apollo." Here we have a very close parallel indeed, the wicked city being destroyed and the just city protected by the joint influence of Apollo and the Theban Dioscuri. The parallel to the case of the three angels in Genesis is notable; it suggests, as we have done above, a conjunction of Jahveh and two Kabiri.

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When the Dioscuri are treated inhospitably in any house, their anger descends upon that house, and when they are insulted by any person, vengeance follows that person. Accordingly we are told by Pausanias stories concerning the inhospitable Phormio and the reckless and irreverent Aristomenes. Phormio's story is as follows:

"Near it [the sanctuary of Hilaeira and Phoebe] is a house which the sons of Tyndareus are said to have originally inhabited; but afterwards it was acquired by one Phormio, a Spartan. To him came the Dioscuri in the likeness of strangers. They said they had come from Cyrene[1] and desired to lodge in his house, and they begged he would let them have the chamber which they had loved most dearly while they dwelt among men. He made them free of all the rest of his house; only that one chamber he said he would not give, for it was his daughter's bower, and she was a maiden. On the morrow the maiden and all her girlish finery had vanished, and in the chamber were found images of the Dioscuri, and a table with silphium on it. So runs the tale." (*Pausanias*, tr. Frazer, III. 16. 2, 3.)

The case of Aristomenes is of a different character. He was at war with the Spartans, who are under the protection of the Dioscuri, and he refused to turn back from the rout of his enemies, when he was informed that the Dioscuri were between him and them. According to the account they were sitting on a wild pear-tree, a circumstance which takes us back to the general identification of the Dioscuri with tree-spirits, who, in the north at all events, are assessors to the oak-god. And, as we have said, we can hardly take the oak at Mamre, with its traditional theophanies, out of the cycle of the sacred oaks, in which the sky-god or thunder-god manifests himself. So the pear-tree was a holy pear-tree and parallel to a holy oak. However, to return to Aristomenes; he was pursuing his panic-stricken enemies, when "the seer Theoclus bade him not to pass it; for he said that the Dioscuri were sitting on the tree. But Aristomenes, hurried away by his passion, did not listen at all to what the seer said, and when he came to the

[1] Cyrene was, as the coins with the silphium plant show, a centre of Dioscuric worship.

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pear-tree, he lost his shield.....He recovered his lost shield, after going to Delphi, and then, as the Pythian priestess bade him, descending into the shrine of Trophonius at Lebadea. Afterwards he took the shield to Lebadea, and dedicated it there.....After an interval long enough to allow his wound to heal, he attempted to make an entrance by night into Sparta itself, but phantoms of Helen and the Dioscuri turned him back." (*Pausanias*, tr. Frazer, IV. 16. 5, 7, 9.) Here we have a good instance of the way the Dioscuri protect a city that is under their care, and punish an individual who disregards the protection that they afford. And, remembering the reversible character of the Dioscuri, how they, with equal facility, blast and bless, we can understand how "just Lot," who entertained the Dioscuri, was protected by them, and how the city which insulted his protectors was reduced to ashes. The whole incident of the visit of the three angels becomes quite lucid, from this point of view, and would at once be appreciated, if it were translated into the language of Greek theology.

For further folk-lore parallels to the story of Abraham, Sarah and Lot (especially such as refer to hospitality shown by an aged couple, or to the escape of a single righteous man from a doomed community of wicked men) we may refer to Cheyne's article. For our own purpose enough has been said; the angels in Genesis are the equivalents of the Dioscuri, and, as we suspected, Dioscurism is just as real a feature of Semitic as of Greek folk-lore[1].

Perhaps a remark needs to be made in concluding this chapter, with reference to the care of the Twins over special cities, and their converse hatred of cities that, for any reason, are hostile to them. There is one case in which we have reduced the evidence which makes the Twins destroyers of cities. It is well known that the Greek mythologists have a name for the Dioscuri, who are known as Lapersai, which they interpret to mean "the ravagers of Las." I have, however, shown, in *Dioscuri and the Christian Legends*, that this must

[1] We shall show later on that Esau and Jacob are a pair of Dioscuri, and that there is some reason for regarding certain details, at least, of their story as unhistorical.

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be a mere piece of word-play; the name Lapersai has its first vowel short, and the word should be explained as equivalent to stone-workers; *i.e.* the Twins are viewed as city-builders rather than city-wreckers. If my view is correct, we have withdrawn a striking case from the proof of the hostility of the Twins to cities with which they are offended. But I do not know that the argument is really affected. There is still evidence on the point, and what we take away with one hand we give back with the other, by adding one more proof (if further proof were necessary) that the Twins preside over the building of cities.

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CHAPTER V.

That the Twins are sometimes female, and that they are not always thought of as equal and similar.

We now pass on to two new points, one that the Heavenly Twins in traditional lore are not always male, the other that they are not always equal and similar.

The first point springs to view as a natural hypothesis, as soon as we have cleared our minds of the necessary martiality of the Dioscuri, and have gone further back in history than the Lake Regillus and all that corresponds to it. For if the cult goes back to the perplexities produced in savage minds by a double or triple birth, there is no reason to limit such perplexities to the appearance of male children. And further, if the persistence of the cult is due in great measure to the influence upon agriculture of the fertile mother of Twins and the presumably fertile Twins, since this influence will be not less, but more, in the case of female twins, whose power over the growth of plants is greater than that of male twins, it will follow that we ought to expect not only to find traces of a belief in Heavenly Twins of the female sex, but that such belief will be persistent.

So far we are in the region of not unreasonable hypothesis. Now let us see what can be said in the way of verification. The simplest way will be to test the Greek mythology for pairs of women with Dioscuric characteristics, and we may remember at the same time that the Lithuanian folk-lore and the Vedic mythology have decided references to the "daughters of the Sun," the Lettish term being *dévo duktele* and the Vedic *divo duhita*. Our first thought will be the case

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of the Leukippides, who are represented as the daughters of a certain Leukippos and as having become the brides of the Spartan Dioscuri. The myth occurs in various complications, and in earlier and later forms. It is complicated by the claim made to the possession of the Leukippides by the rival Messenian twins, the Apharidae, Idas and Lynceus. But there seems no doubt that the earliest traditions represented the Leukippides as really the brides of Castor and Polydeuces, and that the fight over them of the Tyndaridae and the Apharidae is a later attempt to work out the story of contending cults. The names of the ladies are Hilaeira and Phoebe. They appear to be twins; they receive divine honours along with their husbands, and as late as the second century A.D. we have a Spartan inscription in honour of a priest of the Leukippides and Tyndaridae[1]. The natural explanation of this would seem to be the displacement of an original cult of female twins by a pair of male twins. One compares the name of the Leucippides with the title commonly given to the Theban twins, *τὼ λευκοπώλω*. And it does not surprise us that, according to Pausanias, Hilaeira and Phoebe had a sanctuary in Sparta close to the house which had been the home of the Dioscuri. It means that in Sparta, where the Twins are so much in evidence, they were in evidence first in a female form; and that the female cult continued side by side with the cult of the male twins, though, no doubt, with constantly decreasing interest. As soon as we are able to establish a single case of the kind, a number of parallel cases present themselves for examination, and it will be found that there is a complete justification for the belief in the existence of *Διόσκοραι*[2] as well as *Διόσκοροι*. A striking example may be produced from the island of Delos[3].

[1] It must be remembered that Clytemnestra, as well as Helen, was a daughter of Leda, and here Helen seems to be the immortal, so *Il.* III. 426, and Clytemnestra is expressly said to be a daughter of Tyndareus. So perhaps they may be originally a pair of "Great Sisters."

[2] This agrees with the custom of the Baronga, of East Africa, who call their twin children after the sky (Tilo), whether they are male or female. Thus M. Junod speaks of a girl in his Mission School, who was known as a daughter of Tilo and had a twin brother, doubtless of a similar name.

[3] Eitrem, *Die göttlichen Zwillinge*, p. 109.

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According to Herodotus, the holy gifts of the Hyperboreans were brought to Delos by two maidens, whose names were Hyperoche and Laodike. They died in Delos, and their tomb was the centre of a cult. The young women dedicated their hair to these maidens at the tomb in question. Now we learn from Pausanias, that at the time of the Gallic invasion, the Gauls were routed by two heroes, who raised a storm against them and turned them to flight. The names of the two heroes, who appear in battle in the genuine Dioscuric manner, are Hyperochos and Laodikos. Clearly these are a pair of Dioscuric twins; but they are only the masculine presentation of the two maidens from the north who brought blessings to Delos. And even in the Gallic struggle itself the maids were not lost sight of. For when the Pythian priestess at Delphi was appealed to for counsel in the time of danger, she is said to have replied that she and her White Maidens would look after the business:

ἐμοὶ μέλησει ταῦτα καὶ λευκαῖς κόραις.

Here Eitrem suggests, and I think rightly, that not only is there the reference to the Delian maidens Hyperoche and Laodike, but that their whiteness is due to the fact that they are Leukippides, or rather Leukippoi. We are thus led to the conclusion that the twins in Delos were originally female, and that they came from the north, with white horses; but in the stress of battle of a later day they became displaced by men, who behaved as the Great Twin Brethren are expected to do at such times, putting the enemy to flight, and making such use of the weather as the children of the sky are entitled to do[1].

There remains the case of twins, one male and one female, for which I cannot at present find good mythological parallels.

We now pass on to our second point, viz. that the Heavenly Twins do not always remain equal and similar. The fact of their being twins will in this case recede somewhat into the background, and may conceivably be lost sight of altogether. It appears that there is a division of labour between the Twins

[1] For further cases of the Heavenly Maids we must refer to Eitrem, *passim*.

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in many of their traditional developments. And with the division of labour there is the underlying assumption of diverse character, which fits them for various forms of labour. One of them becomes stronger than the other, and rougher, because he has rougher work to do. For instance Castor and Polydeuces divide the work of life between them, Castor doing the chariot-driving and Polydeuces the hard-hitting[1]. Naturally the latter shows traces of his craft in his appearance. He must be the stronger of the two, as well as the best-battered. More remarkable still is the case of Amphion and Zethus, the Theban twins. Here we have one doing mason's work, while the other plays the flute. But Zethus not only knows how to build, he is also a hunter, and when he appears in artistic representation, you will know him by his roughness and by his dog. One thinks immediately of Esau the rough and Jacob the smooth. As far as the Scriptural accounts of them go, Esau and Jacob are merely Amphion and Zethus exaggerated[2]. This distinction of rough and smooth is naturally one that invited the attention of the artist. It served to distinguish them, and so you have the Twins recognized by their *unlikeness*, according as one of them has hair and the other has not. We actually find this occurring on the famous Chest of Cypselus, on which Pausanias tells us[3] that the Dioscuri were, one of them bearded, and the other of the pair smooth-faced. Hence arises naturally a traditional diversity of artistic treatment. The result will be that one of the pair will appear to be older than the other, and as we said, the idea of their being twins may recede into the background in artistic representations. In literature the case will be different, as the Twins do not need to be identified by observation, and it will commonly suffice to name them. In the Acts of Thomas, for example, Jesus and Judas Thomas are

[1] It [illegible]ins of Elis are called Moliones, and are the children of Aktor. daughter of [illegible] represented by Homer as fighting from one chariot, one of the Clytemnestra [illegible] lash, and the other, I suppose, doing the fighting. Of these may be originally [illegible]e human father, Poseidon the divine. They drive white

[2] This agrees [illegible] 750.
their twin children [illegible] this point again when we come to the discovery of the M. Junod speaks of a [illegible]saints: see p. 89.
of Tilo and had a twin b

[3] Eitrem, *Die göttliche*.

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so exactly alike that every one mistakes them for one another, and it was from this peculiarity, with others, that we were able to deduce the fact of their being, to the author of the Acts, a pair of twins.

The same attempt at division of labour and definition of the brethren will, however, be found all over the field of Dioscurism[1]. Thus the Messenian Twins, the Apharidae, allot the hardest of their conflicts to Idas, who is the stronger of the two, just as Polydeuces does the boxing, when the Argonauts land in the country of the Bebryces. In the same way there is a difference between Picumnus and Pilumnus, the latter being the more warlike of the two[2]: he has a club, in the shape of a pestle, with which he wards off evil influences from new-born babes, while his brother is entertained in the house where the birth occurs, and has a special couch set in his honour. In the same way Iphikles[3] appears as a mere weakling by the side of his twin brother, and runs away from the snakes that Herakles strangles.

It is possible that a similar explanation may have to be made for the two Prussian gods, Patollo and Potrimpo, who are the assessors of the thunder-god Perkuno. That Perkuno is a god of thunder and a god of the oak seems clear from his name. This is explained as the Lithuanian equivalent of "thunder," which in the form Perkunas is still used in folk-songs[4], but the etymological connexion with the Latin *quercus* and with the *Hercynian* forest makes it certain that it has something to do with the oak. And this being the case the two deities Patollo and Potrimpo are the assessors of the thunder-god who dwelt in the oak. By their names we should suspect them to be

[1] One easy way of artistically distinguishing them is to give one a white horse, and the other a black one. Or it can be done by the colour of their caps.

[2] He is credited by Virgil with the ownership of white horses, which had been given him by Orithyia (see *Aen.* XII. 83).

[3] The divine origin of Herakles, as against Iphikles, is, of course, shown in this way. Milton has this in his mind when in the Hymn on the Nativity he says,

> "Our babe, *to show his Godhead true*,
> Can in his swaddling-bands control the damned crew."

[4] Chadwick, *The Oak and the Thunder-God*, p. 26.

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twins, and this supposition fits in very well with what we already know of the Twins as liberating the imprisoned or darkened Sun by means of the hammer [? of Thor[1]]. Against this, however, stands the objection that one of the pair is said to be old, and the other young. Accordingly, Mr Chadwick, who has carefully investigated the subject of the worship of the thunder-god, doubts[2] whether the theory of Twins can be applied to Patollo and Potrimpo, and suspects that we have rather a case of a triad of Northern deities, one of whom, Patollo, the older one of the pair whom we have coupled together, is a god of the underworld, while the other, Potrimpo, is the god of agriculture; between these stands Perkuno, the thunder-god, who is said to be of middle-age, and who may be equated with Thor.

I mention this case, not so much with the object of proposing a counter theory to Mr Chadwick, as to state that if it should turn out that the triad of Prussian gods reduces to the thunder-god *plus* the Dioscuri, then the explanation of the inequality of the ages of the two similarly named deities would have to be sought in the direction of differentiation of function, as explained above, which makes the twinness of the deities to recede somewhat into the background. Before leaving this point, it will be of some importance to us in the discussion of certain identifications of the ancient Twins with later saints, to have in our minds the evidence on which this Prussian theology is established. A few sentences from Mr Chadwick's paper on "The Oak and the Thunder-God" will put the matter in a clear light. He remarks as follows[3]:

"The evidence for the cult of the thunder-god amongst the ancient Prussians is much more extensive, but unfortunately it is late and not free from suspicion. Grunau[4] gives the god's

[1] For Perkuno certainly answers to Thor.

[2] As he tells me in a private communication.

[3] *l.c.* p. 26.

[4] The reference is to Grunau, *Preussische Chronik* (ed. Perlbach, I. 62). "Der götthin woren 3, Patollo, Patrimpo, Perkuno, die stunden in einer eichen, dy 6 elen dicke war. Diese eiche und die wonen des crywen adir kyrwaidens mit allen seinen waidolotten, das woren priester, sie nannten Rickoyto."

The statement that Potrimpo was young and gladsome (a god of harvest)

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name as Perkuno, and says that together with the gods Patollo and Potrimpo he was believed to inhabit the sacred oak at Romovo. He was supposed to commune with the priests there in thunderstorms. In this way the fundamental laws of the nation were believed to have been imparted by him. In his honour a perpetual fire was kept burning under the oak. The priest who allowed this to die out was condemned to death... At the present time it is customary to regard the authorities for the ancient Prussian religion, especially Grunau, with the greatest scepticism. Some writers have even gone so far as to doubt the existence of a god Perkuno. This, however, is certainly unjustifiable. What especially makes for the credibility of Grunau's account in the main, distorted and embellished as it is without doubt, is the fact that there is scarcely one of the religious observances mentioned by him for which a parallel cannot be found in some other European people, generally at a very early period of history. In many cases these foreign customs cannot have been known to Grunau."

We have now said enough to establish the points which we reserved for the present chapter, viz., *that Heavenly Twins may be found in both sexes*[1], *and that they do not always develop in an equal and similar manner.*

and Patollo aged and death-like, comes from Grunau (I. 77), where the description is given of the banner of King Witowodi, on which the three gods were depicted. See also (I. 94, 95) where it is expressly stated that Patollo is a god of the dead. Much doubt has been thrown on this pictured banner of King Witowodi.

[1] I have not discussed the case of twins of opposite sexes, but we should keep this in mind, in case it may be necessary in the explanation of some features in the growth of the Dioscuric mythology. For an actual case of a Dioscuric boy and girl, we have referred to M. Junod (*Les Ba-ronga*, p. 412), who tells us that in the Mission School at Lorenzo Marques there was a charming young girl whose name was *Nwanawatelo*, that is to say, *daughter of the sky*, because she had a twin brother.

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CHAPTER VI.

That the Twins are regarded as possessing gifts of healing, and that there are two directions in which this belief has been especially developed.

It is well known that the Dioscuri have been credited with powers of healing[1], some of which are what may be called miraculous, and some of them more ordinary, and on the road, at all events, to what we now call medicine. Their general description as "good saviours" included the practice of medicine. Under the head of miraculous healings and hurtings we have a number of cases which appear to be arrived at by regarding the Twins as children of the sky, a belief to which allusion has been made in previous pages. For example, as soon as they have come to be regarded as *Φωσφόροι* (or at least one of them has been so regarded), it is not surprising that they should be credited with the power not only of bringing light to the daily reillumined world, but also of bringing light to those amongst mortals who may especially be said to "sit in darkness." The first mission of the Dioscuri in miracle is to restore sight to the blind. Coupled with this is the blinding of those whom they wish to hurt. Accordingly we find in the *Rig-Veda* that the Açvins are constantly being celebrated, not only on account of their

[1] Thus Sanchoniathon (Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* I. 10) speaks of their medical powers side by side with their naval skill, and makes them related to Asklepios: *οὗτοι, φησὶ, πρῶτοι πλοῖον εὗρον· ἐκ τούτων γεγόνασιν ἕτεροι* [? l. *ἰατροὶ*], *οἳ καὶ βοτάνας εὗρον, καὶ τὴν τῶν δακετῶν ἴασιν καὶ ἐπῳδάς.*

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connexion with the rising and setting sun, but also for notable acts of healing performed upon blind people. Myriantheus, in his treatise *Die Açvins*, points out this miracle as the leading one in the record of the Dioscuri. For him the Dioscuri stand for the twilight, which is intermediate between the light and the darkness, and which, if personified, can be said to set free the Sun from the devouring Wolf of the night. The argument is not affected if we replace the twilight of Myriantheus by the twin-light of the morning and evening star. "By their nature the Açvins are closely related both to the Light and the Darkness; they are able to mediate between them and so to liberate the gods of light from the demons of the dark." And Myriantheus thinks he has found the simple explanation of the peculiar characteristics of the Dioscuri in their intermediate position between Light and Dark, which enables them to restore to the Sun the light which he lost at his previous setting. And he continues[1] with the observation that we have the same pictorial view of the Açvins in the restoration to sight which they accomplish for various mythical beings, who for the most part appear to be aged and blind Rishis. Then he gives a string of illustrations from the *Rig-Veda*, for which we may refer directly to his pamphlet. It may be admitted that the miracles referred to are very natural pendants to the daily part which the Dioscuri play in the conflict between light and darkness. It must, however, be remembered that it follows from the duality of the character of the Twins, in which benevolence is the *recto* and maleficence the *verso*, that they can as readily produce blindness as remove it; it only depends on the point from which we start, the Evening Star or the Morning Star. Of the two, it may be regarded as natural that the Morning Star should be considered to be the greater benefactor[2], and that the power of removing blindness will take precedence of the power of causing it; and at the same time we must be prepared to recognize both causes at work, and to see the reflection of either form of activity in

[1] *l. c.* p. 82.

[2] Accordingly, in the Apocalypse, Jesus is described as the "bright and morning star."

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the legends that have grown out of the primitive myth. For example, it is quite natural and appropriate that one of the forms of the judgment of Sodom at the hands of the Angels is that the wicked and inhospitable people were smitten with blindness. It is equally natural that when Ambrose had discovered and canonised the Dioscuri in Milan, the associated portent which justified his discovery and drove the Arians backward was the restoration of sight to the butcher Severus, who may have been behind the scenes in the preparation of the bloody relics which Ambrose unearthed.

Now this form of medicine, what we may call medicine by miracle, is of necessity abnormal and occasional. It does not furnish a basis of sufficient area to the claim of the Dioscuri to be regarded as the physicians of every-day life. And as it is certain that they were so regarded, we must search for some other line of development by which the primitive cult of a pair of Twins could lead them to the patronage and practice of the healing art. We shall show that they do occupy such a position, by a natural and easy process of thought.

The medical men of antiquity counted amongst their number one famous leech whose name was Dioscorides; the patronymic is the appropriate badge of all their tribe. But how did this ascription of medical powers arise? The answer, I think, lies in the following direction.

Just as religion appears to be evolved out of magic (from which it seldom succeeds in wholly disentangling itself) so medicine has its origin in mantic practices, and the first medicine men must be credited with mantic powers. And if we are to explain the Twins as physicians, we must go back to the Twins as prophets. Their mantic powers are the result of their connexion with their father the sky-god or thunder-god. The Zeus of the whispering oak at Dodona is no isolated phenomenon, but a type of what the tree-god was expected to be. The same thing took place at the old Baltic sanctuary of Romovo, where the priests received communications from Perkuno, who dwelt in the oak, accompanied by a pair of lesser deities, whose names, at all events, are Dioscuric. But even if the pair of gods at Romovo should turn out not to be twins,

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the connexion of the Dioscuri with holy trees can easily be made out on their own account[1], and, in that case, they would develop a mantic of their own.

Now, of the existence of the mantic element in early medicine there is not the least doubt; it developed into peculiar forms of question addressed to the deity, of which, perhaps, the most interesting is oracle by incubation, where the worshipper sleeps in the temple of Aesculapius or some kindred deity and obtains from him a counsel as to the right method of accomplishing his cure. But the proof of the mantic element in the Dioscuri is not so immediately obvious. One comes across traces of ordinary mantic, as in the papyrus recently published by Grenfell and Hunt from Bacchias in the Fayûm[2], but for medical mantic, perhaps the simplest and readiest demonstration will be the observation that when the worship of the Dioscuri in Constantinople was displaced (as we shall presently see) by the cult of Cosmas and Damian, the Greek medical saints, the mantic elements of the former ritual passed over into the practice of the Christian people, the only change that was necessary being the change of names from Castor and Polydeuces to Cosmas and Damian. This is brought out very clearly in the Acts of the latter saints; it happened on a certain occasion that some Greeks, either very sceptical or very conservative, came to incubate in the church of Cosmas and Damian, as if it were the temple of the Dioscuri. The hagiographer records what happened with a charming *naïveté*. He tells us, as we shall see presently, that the saints appeared to the incubators, and reproached them with their ungodly conduct in addressing appeals to them as though they were the Dioscuri. "We give you to understand," they said, "that we are Cosmas and Damian." No better evidence could be wished for the continuance of the cult and for the manner of its mantic

[1] Even Helena shows the same feature and was honoured as Δενδρῖτις. In the fight with the Apharidae (when Castor gets killed) the Spartan twins were hiding in a hollow oak. When they were protecting Sparta against Aristomenes, they sat on a wild pear-tree, &c.

[2] Fayûm Papyri, no. 138, "O lords Dioscuri, is it fated for him to depart to the city?" &c.

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medicine. We may say, without any hesitation, that the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian in Constantinople is the original temple of the Dioscuri, and that the same means were used for obtaining prescriptions under the new religion as under the old. Mantic survived as medicine, and under the same patronage as formerly. The proof is complete, and is typical of much that went on in the Christianity of the time.

It appears, then, that the apparent discordance between the two chief occupations of the Dioscuri, the medical and the military professions, is not a real discrepancy. The Dioscuri were both soldiers and doctors, and so were the saints that displaced them. But their medical character is more strongly marked than the other. They become known as the "good physicians" as well as the "good saviours." By one of these titles (it is not quite clear which) Abgar addresses our Lord in his letter; either of the alternative readings is Dioscuric. In the same way the saints at Milan, who began their successful career by giving sight to a blind man, were known as "boni medici." We will give the authority for this description of Protase and Gervase a little later.

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CHAPTER VII.

That the Twins are the Guardians of Truthfulness, and that they are appealed to by those who make contracts and take oaths.

In the previous chapter we suggested that the fact that the Dioscuri were everywhere credited with medical powers would probably be explained by a proof that their medicine was largely a survival of the mantic art, and that the mantic elements (incubation and the like) were still prominent when the Brethren ceased to be a pair of benevolent heroes and became a pair of conventional Christian saints.

It might seem, however, to be more difficult to trace out the reasons which make the Twins the guardians of public faith. Amongst all their varied powers and attributes I do not know one which at first puzzled me more. It was clear from the Roman adjurations that Castor and Pollux were commonly appealed to in asseverations and in contracts, and that the same thing is evident from the Greek literature. Moreover we showed in the tract *Dioscuri in the Christian Legends*, that when Castor and Polydeuces were replaced in the East (as at Melitene) by Nearchus and Polyeuctes, that the latter almost immediately acquired a world-wide renown as a saint to swear by and as one who was able to avenge a perjury. But how is one to make the connexion between the modern man who swears by Gemini and those early forms of the cult which we have brought to light? The solution, however, of this riddle is not so very difficult.

It does not belong to the first period of the cult, but to the

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time when the Twins have been recognized as children of the sky, and have become associated with the sky-god, or thunder-god, or sun-god as his assessors. And it is because of this connexion that they become the guardians of public truth. Men swore by God and S. Polioctus because they had sworn by Jupiter and the Twins, and they swore by Jupiter because, being a sky-god, he was able to see everything that went on; and the Twins, being assessors of the sky-god, shared his knowledge: and in the case before us there is no doubt about the saint's ancestry: Polyeuctes certainly goes back to Polydeuces, and the oath by the one goes back to the oath by the other, and it is Pollux that is connected closely with Zeus, and therefore proper to appeal to.

We must then think of a time when the cult of the Twins has reached the stage where the Brethren are honoured with their sire, the sky-god or thunder-god.

The proof that this is the correct explanation comes from an unexpected quarter. We shall have to point out presently the presence, and we may add, the prominence of the Twins on the monuments of Mithra. They appear as a pair of children or young men, carrying torches. One of the pair holds his torch up, and the other holds his torch down, in harmony with the common idea of the Twins as being a pair of opposites. M. Cumont, who describes them carefully, calls them merely Torch-bearers (δαδοφόροι), and gives their names as Cautes and Cautopates, but without observing[1] (what the names themselves might have suggested) that they are a pair of Heavenly Twins, and that they are associated with the sky-god Mithra, just as the Prussian Twins (if they are Twins) with Perkuno, or the Greek Twins with Zeus, or the Twins of S.E. Africa with Tilo. Now when we examine the powers that are ascribed to Mithra, we shall find that one of his greatest functions is the guardianship of truth and the avenging of perjury. We will allow M. Cumont to explain this point to us. He is referring to statements made by Xenophon with regard to the Persian religion.

[1] It would be more correct to say that he did make the suggestion, but abandoned it.

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"Tout ce qu'on peut tirer de Xenophon, c'est que les nobles perses avaient coûtume de prendre Mithra à témoin de la vérité de leurs paroles. Cette particularité, qui est confirmée par d'autres témoignages, notamment par une anecdote rapportée à même temps par Plutarque et Élien, sans doute d'après Dinon, est donc à peu près la seule donnée certaine dont nous soyons redevables à la littérature préalexandrine." *Monuments relatifs au culte de Mithra*, I. 22.

Here then we see that what one really swears by is the sky-god, in the East by Mithra, in the West by Zeus or the παντεπόπτης Ἥλιος. But in any case, the Twins are assessors of the sky-god, whether he be Zeus or Mithra, and share his knowledge and care for men, and it is therefore easy and natural to call them to witness one's truthfulness and one's fidelity; apart from the fact that they are the children of the sky, it is difficult to see how they could ever have acquired such prominence in the defence of truth and the avenging of perjury. It is interesting to remember that this is the reason why oaths and adjurations are made in the open air. Thus they swore in Rome by Deus Fidius under the impluvium of the house[1]; and Plutarch in his *Questiones Romanae* (*Qu.* 28) tells us that adjurations by Hercules and Dionysos (Liber Pater) were made in the same way. For a similar reason in the Gospel Pilate judges the Lord in the open air; and according to the Acts of Pilate washes his hands before the Sun. The Twins were far-seeing like their sire. This is especially noticeable in the Messenian Twins, Idas and Lynceus.

A more difficult problem is to determine why the custom prevailed, at certain times and in certain places, of regarding the oath by the Twins as peculiarly an oath proper to women.

[1] See Nonius, p. 494, 30.

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CHAPTER VIII.

That, in the earliest civilization, one name commonly serves for twins, a custom which soon requires modification.

We have already alluded to some West African peculiarities in the naming of twins.

The clearest evidence that the children of a multiple birth were often given the very same name will appear (i) from the historical and traditional references to cases where more than one of a family possesses the same name; (ii) from the existence of slight modifications in a common primitive name, which have clearly been introduced for the purpose of making a distinction between the persons involved.

The traces of this custom of the common name of twins are found in the Teutonic mythology: for example, Saxo Grammaticus tells us (Bk. v. 122) that:

"Westmar had twelve sons, three of whom had the same name, Grep, in common. These three were conceived at once, and delivered at one birth and *their common name declares their simultaneous origin.*" It need hardly be pointed out, that Saxo's statement applies with equal force to cases where there has been a differentiation of a primitive name. For example, when we are told in the Heimskringla, *Haraldsaga* (c. 18), that "Harald and Asa had the following sons: Guthorn was the eldest, Halfdan the Black, Halfdan the White (these were twins)," we have the common name Halfdan supplemented by the differentiation of the colour, and we could have guessed them to be twins, without the definite statement of the author.

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A similar instance will be found in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*[1], where there is a case of two Irish presbyters who go to the land of the old Saxons, for the purpose of preaching the Gospel of Christ. They were "one in name as they were in devotion, for each of them was called Heuuald, but with this distinction taken from the colour of their hair, that one was called Heuuald the Black, the other Heuuald the White." As their parents presumably did not know they were to have a common devotion they must have given the name for another reason. Comparing this case with the previous one, it is legitimate to infer that the Irish priests were twin brethren.

The importance of these considerations will be evident; for there is a multitude of cases where gods, heroes, demi-gods, and saints have common names, or names only slightly varied from a common base. One has only to think of Cautes and Cautopates in the Mithra cult, of Romus[2] and Remus, of Picumnus and Pilumnus, and a host of companion saints and martyrs of the Church, to whom we shall presently allude, to see the importance of the consideration to which the Teutonic cases lead us. We shall have, for example, to discuss Acius and Aceolus; Cantius, Cantianus and Cantianella; Ferrutius and Ferrutio; and a host of similar cases. And if we should find that the hagiologist, in describing a martyrdom, says that two persons were worthily endowed with similar names in view of the common glory which they were to attain, we shall readily annotate the passage with the remark that the reason for their similarity of name may lie nearer to their birth than their martyrdom.

For example, in a case just alluded to, that of Cantius, Cantianus and Cantianella, the martyr-saints of Vicenza, a sermon preached over them begins with the statement:

"Quam bene et iucunde tres martyres uno paene vocabulo nuncupantur. Nec mirum si similes sunt nomine, qui sunt

[1] *H. E. Angl.* c. x.

[2] I take the liberty of writing the name in this form, which I have elsewhere assumed to underlie the conventional one. It is interesting to notice that John Malalas the chronographer writes the name in this way. (See *Chron.* Bk. VII. *init. et passim.*) Cf. the story of Xenagoras, that Rome was founded by Romus, a son of Ulysses and Circe. Dion. Hal. I. 72.

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similes passione." They obtained the common name with the view of suffering together!

One is inclined to suspect that the person who preached the sermon and made the explanation of the names may have known the real reason for the propinquity and similarity of the names. But of this more anon.

Amongst savage tribes in West Africa, as we have already pointed out, we find a tendency to fix the names of twins, but apparently to distinguish one of the pair from the other. According to Dr Nassau[1]:

"Names of twins are always the same, in the same cognate tribes. In Benga they are always Ivaha (a wish) and Ayĕnwĕ (unseen). These names are given irrespective of sex...Among the Egbas the first-born is Taiwo, *i.e.* 'the first to taste the world,' and the other Kehende, *i.e.* 'the one who comes last.'" I have suggested above that some such nomenclature may explain the name Jacob. The Scripture itself suggests that the by-form Edom for Esau is a case of colour differentiation[2].

Sometimes, as amongst the Yorubas, the twins are named after a totem god, or are simply called, as the god is, by the name Ibeji, which means twins. Here we have a deity, whose name suggests that at an early stage some twins had become objects of worship; and the same thing is suggested by the name of the deity Hoho who, amongst the Ewe-speaking tribes, presides over twins. On the other hand it must be admitted that the evidence for any belief amongst the West Africans in spirit parentage is very slight[3].

We may perhaps group the names given to twins something as follows:

(*a*) The same name given to both.
(*b*) A fixed name given to each.

[1] *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 206.

[2] In this connexion we may remember how Domitius Ahenobarbus had the colour of his beard changed by the Dioscuri. See Suetonius, *Nero*, 1.

[3] Dr Nassau (p. 207) quotes a West African paper as saying that "twins are worshipped every month," a very important statement in view of a conjecture which I made to the same effect in *Dioscuri in the Christian Legends*. And it is also said that there is a temple near Lagos, where twins are worshipped (Ellis, *Yoruba*, p. 81), but on these points we need some further information.

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(*c*) The same name *plus* a differentiating adjective.
(*d*) The same name *plus* a differentiating suffix.
(*e*) Varying names *plus* the same suffix or names that rhyme.
(*f*) Varying names expressing the same idea.

Under (*a*) would come the early Teutonic names;
under (*b*) certain West African appellations;
under (*c*) Teutonic cases like Halfdan the Black or White;
under (*d*) such cases as Ferrutius and Ferrutio in the Calendar; or Cautes and Cautopates in mythology;
under (*e*) cases like Iphikles and Herakles, or Protasius and Gervasius; or Florus and Laurus;
under (*f*) cases like Idas and Lynceus in mythology; or Felix and Fortunatus in the Calendar.

But besides all these varieties there is evidence for a widespread practice of not giving a specific name at all, but simply speaking of them as the Great Twin Brethren, the Divine Brethren, the Twins, the Great Ones, &c. Such a custom continued late, and it must also have prevailed early; for if it had not done so, there would have been more likeness in the names that prevailed in the Greek cities, many of which must owe their cult to a common origin, as well as in the names of martyred twins in cities not very remote from one another.

Before leaving this question of the right way to name twins, we may allude to a point which Dr Frazer has recently recalled, as to the relation of the Irish saint Bridget, to the sacred fire, and the holy oak. It is well known that Bridget is an ancient fire-goddess, whose fire was guarded by a band of priestesses, said to be nineteen in number, who take turns to watch the sacred flame from day to day, leaving the twentieth day to Bridget herself. This ritual was kept up in Kildare till the Reformation; the name of Kildare shows that there was also a holy oak in connexion with St Bridget's shrine. But Dr Frazer points out[1] that Bridget had two sisters, named like herself; "Brigit was a goddess of poetry and wisdom, and she had two sisters, also called Brigit, who presided over leechcraft and

[1] *Early History of the Kingship*, p. 223.

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smithcraft respectively. This appears to be only another way of saying that Brigit was the patroness of bards, physicians and smiths." But there is no need to erase the other two sisters; the three are parallel to the *tergemini* named Grep at the beginning of this chapter. And their care over the three arts is exactly like the case of Jabal, Jubal and Tubal in the book of Genesis. The proper parallel in extra-biblical circles would be the case of the three Cabiri, who are known to care for medicine, from their connexion with Asklepios, and for smith's work, from being traditionally the children of Hephaestos. The Brigits, then, are a triad; probably a triad honoured amongst the Brigantes, and closely related to Berecynthia. It may be further noted, in passing, that it is reasonably certain that the division of labour amongst Brigit's Vestals means a division of the month, and therefore the number nineteen is wrong, and must be corrected to nine, so that the month is divided into three parts with every tenth day sacred to Brigit. The nuns can then be counted on the fingers; we have something like it in the case of the Corybantes who are known as Daktyli, who are also the patrons of smiths and bards.

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CHAPTER IX.

That the Calendar of the Christian Church is full of names of saints and martyrs who have displaced the Great Twin Brethren, and succeeded to their cult, with a proof of the statement from some of the French Churches.

IN the *Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* we started our investigation from an observed assonance in the sound of the names given to a pair of frequently occurring saints, viz., Florus and Laurus; and we were able to show that they were a pair of Dioscuri, and that their Acts were tinged with Dioscuric traditions. And from this observation we were led on step by step to the recognition of many more traces of the cult to which Florus and Laurus succeeded. It is not necessary to follow the same order; we will take a definite country and establish the same conclusion for the Churches of ancient Gaul by identifying pairs of twin saints in many of the leading cities. In doing this we shall have to lay down some rough rules for our guidance, so as to avoid hasty conclusions and too rapid generalisations. Before proceeding to this demonstration, it is interesting to remark that one residual difficulty in the case of Florus and Laurus has disappeared upon a closer enquiry: I mean the difficulty as to the naming of two saints of the Eastern Church, who profess to be of Byzantine origin, and who are popular to-day wherever the Greek Church is in power, by names that are Latin in form and in sound.

Those who have read Dr Burn's recent edition of the works of Niceta of Remesiana will recognize at once that [illegible] province from which Florus and Laurus came, and the [illegible]h is the origin and centre of their cult, are n[illegible] the prefect who cond[illegible] show his name to [illegible] of the Eastern Empire, nor attached to t[illegible] Greek Church in the first

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instance. The province of Dardania and the city of Ulpiana[1], to which the *Acta Sanctorum* refer the saints in question, present the same ecclesiastical features as Remesiana, the home of Niceta. They pass from Western rule to Eastern rule, both imperially and ecclesiastically, in the year 379, when "Gratian entrusted to Theodosius the Empire of the East, and handed over to him the Illyrian dioceses of Macedonia and Dacia." (Burn, p. xlvi.) The fact is that the whole of this region is full of remains of Latin Christianity, so that any difficulty which might have been felt with regard to the Latinity of the names of Florus and Laurus has disappeared[2].

It is interesting, in passing, to observe that Dr Burn has given many hints that the soil of the province was a favourable one for the maintaining of old cults or the establishing of new ones. Thus he quotes Gennadius as a witness for the composition of a book by Niceta of Remesiana, in which he relates that a certain Melodius, father of a family, on account of his liberality, and Gadarius, a peasant, on account of his bravery, were placed by the heathen amongst the gods. One would like to know some more about these people. Did they become saints as well as deities? And if deities, to what special company were they affiliated? Dr Burn speaks also (p. xxxii) of the crude hero worship of the more ignorant villagers, and of the difficulty the Christian bishops must have had to conquer it. Perhaps they did not try very hard, but took the simpler way of annexing and baptizing their enemies.

But now to return to the Calendar generally. Anyone who will approach the Calendars of the great Churches with an open and unprejudiced mind will be struck at once by the uncanny appearance of a large number of the names entered. He will find a rich collection of queer pairs and triads of names, such as it is very hard to believe ever existed in ordinary life, and which occur with a frequency far beyond that of ordinary

[1] See Dr Burn's map of the district.

[2] Suetonius (*Vesp.* 22) tells a story that a certain courtier named Florus corrected the Emperor saying *plostrum* instead of *plaustrum*; upon which Vespasian punished him by calling him Flaurus. The story may justify literally the names Florus and Laurus rhyme.

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life, supposing them to be real and possible. He will find, for instance, such saints as

Inna, Pinna and Rimma,
or Speusippus, Mesippus and Elasippus,
or Menodora, Metrodora, Nymphodora,

and will be obliged to ask why they had these assonant names, and who they were that they should be thus grouped together.

The twin-like or triple names of which we have been speaking above will be found all over the *Index Sanctorum*, and unless we could assume that twins have a predilection for sanctity the phenomenon is a perplexing one. Their frequency outruns ordinary statistical expectation, their variety and diffusion are surprising. The only reason why nothing has been said on these peculiarities before the present time lies in the fact that few people read the *Acta Sanctorum*, even in the indices, and of those few the major part are blinded by traditional beliefs. However, the fact remains, and a superficial reader can verify it, that the Calendar is full of all the features that we have enumerated above in the naming of twins, and we can only draw the conclusion that a great number of twins have been raised (ecclesiastically) to the peerage. We must be careful, as I have said, not to make hasty identifications. It is, for example, quite possible that my Bollandist friends have convicted me of a too rapid conclusion with regard to the Egyptian martyr Dioscorus, and he may be a real person and a genuine saint after all[1]. But really there are so many similar cases that one less or more makes little difference to the thesis which we propound as to the fundamental paganism of the Calendar.

Suppose now we restrict ourselves from the general enquiry, and, as suggested above, try to get some idea as to the extent to which twin names, and, presumably, twin heroes or demigods who had the names, prevailed in the Calendar of the French Church. The points to enquire into are:

(1) Twin-like features in the names.

(2) Statements in the *Acta* that they were brothers or sisters, *gemini* or *germani*, and the like.

[1] It certainly seems that I was misled in calling the prefect who condemned him by the name of Lucianus, when the MSS. show his name to have been Culcianus, and in drawing a mythological conclusion from the name.

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(3) Dioscuric touches in the experiences of the saints or in their miracles.

(4) Allusions to them as luminaries of the heaven or in particular as related to the morning or the evening star.

Here are some suggestive pairs from the patrons of French churches:

Acius and Aceolus (modern names S. Ach and S. Acheul).
Cantius, Cantianus, and Cantianella.
Donatianus and Rogatianus.
Crispin and Crispinian.
Ferreolus and Ferrutius.
Speusippus, Mesippus, Elasippus.
Protasius and Gervasius.
Vitalis and Agricola,
&c., &c.

It will be seen that they cover a wide area: Acius and Aceolus are honoured at Amiens; Cantius and his company at Étampes and Soissons; Donatian and Rogatian at Nantes; Crispin and Crispinian at Soissons; Ferreolus and Ferrutius at Besançon; the Tergemini at Langres; Protase and Gervase at Tours; Vitalis and Agricola in Auvergne. Several of the pairs or triads are importations from Italy or the East; thus the Tergemini (Speusippus and his company) belong properly to Cappadocia, from whence their cult has spread westward. But this diffusion has its motive, not only in the worship of the place from which they start, but in that of the places to which they come. The triad were, no doubt, welcomed in Langres because they were wanted there. In the same way, Protasius and Gervasius are properly the saints of Milan, but their relics were scattered over a wide area, and when S. Ambrose's friends secured from him some memorials of the sanctities which he had unearthed, it is not unreasonable to assume that, in some cases, they also had, like Ambrose, twins of their own to convert. The same thing may be said of Vitalis and Agricola, who belong properly to Bologna; of them we may have something

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to say later on. Cantius, Cantianus, and Cantianella belong originally to Aquileia, but they appear to have had a warm welcome in France, and the reason can easily be imagined.

But now let us examine some of these pairs more closely. It will be admitted that, in the main, the names suggest Dioscurism. For the triads we need not hesitate; the mention of the horses in the case of the Tergemini, and their chariots as described in the *Acta*, together with the agreement in the names and certain other mythological traits in their kinship, render it quite certain that we are dealing with a Dioscuric or Kabiric triad. And, as we have said, it is reasonably certain that such a triad at Langres would not have become an established cult if it had not been that something of the kind was already in existence there. Langres is, therefore, what we may call a Dioscuric centre.

As to Cantius, Cantianus, and Cantianella, the parallelism of these with Castor and Pollux and Helen strikes the mind just as forcibly as the assonance of the names does the ear. The fact that they come from Italy does not seriously weaken the claim to Dioscuric honour of the place where their relics are found. We cannot be as sure, say, of Soissons as of Aquileia; but, in any case, Soissons is one of the heirs to Aquileia, and that takes us some way towards Dioscurism in the French town.

But perhaps we had better examine some of these names more in detail.

For S. Acius and S. Aceolus I can find no acts of martyrdom. They are celebrated on May 1, and S. Salvius, Bishop of Amiens, is credited with having buried them. Their remains were taken from Amiens to S. Quentin and Abbeville. In the absence of any *Acta*, we draw our conclusion from the similarity of the names.

For Cantius, Cantianus, and Cantianella it may be further said that they are definitely two brothers and a sister: the *Acta Sanctorum* do not say straight out that they are twins: we have already referred to the sermon in their honour by Ps. Ambrose (whom Baronius affirms to be Maximus), in which the similarity of their names is explained by the common glory of their martyrdom! The martyrdom is said to have taken

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place in Aquileia. The saints ride out of the city in a mule-cart, to avoid persecution, and one of the mules stumbles at the spot where the blessed Chrysogonus had been martyred. The martyrologist makes great capital out of this mule-carriage, comparing it with Elijah's chariot of fire. After their martyrdom the relics are taken to Aquileia, Milan, Étampes, and Hildesheim in Saxony. Apparently Soissons also had a share in them. From a poem of Fortunatus on the life of S. Martin, we can gather the esteem in which they were held:

> "Aut Aquileiensem si forte accesseris urbem,
> Cantianos Domini uimium venereris amicos:
> Ac Fortunati benedicti martyris urnam."

After the relics were removed to Étampes they were used for rain-making. And it is interesting to note that, as late as 1249, they were known as the *Divi Fratres*; for there was a bishop who doubted the genuineness of the relics, and was smitten with temporary blindness, and according to some verses made upon this sad calamity,

> "Mox prece praemissa, lacrymis perfusus obortis,
> Explicat inscriptos Divorum nomine Fratrum
> Fasciculos, sacrosque viris astantibus artus
> Ostentat."

Fratres Dii is the name for the Twins in Suetonius, *Calig.* 22, where Caligula sets up his image between them as Jupiter Latiaris, and no doubt elsewhere.

On the whole the Dioscurism of the Cantiani is well made out, and to a certain extent that establishes the Dioscurism of the centres where the Cantiani are worshipped.

Let us turn, in the next place, to the saints of Nantes, Donatianus and Rogatianus.

The Acts of these saints, who are said to have been martyred at Nantes under Diocletian, are suspected by the hagiologists to contain some genuine matter. Le Blant (*Actes des Martyrs*, p. 76) regards it as a special mark of genuineness that prominence is given to the worship of Apollo, which the officials endeavour to make the martyrs take part in. The cult of Apollo was being pushed by the government at this time. That they are brothers is admitted; it stands so in the

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Martyrologium Hieronymianum: "In Gallia, civitate Namnetis SS. Rogatiani, Donatiani, *germanorum*." Here we come across the term "*germani*" for "brothers"; often it occurs under the form "*fratres germani*," and one suspects that in not a few instances it is a simple substitute for "*gemini*." When we turn to the *Acta*, we shall find that the story is, in some respects, built on the lines of the martyrdom of Nearchus and Polyeuctes, whom we have shown in *Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* to be a pair of heavenly twins. In the story of Nearchus and Polyeuctes, the saints are friends and not brothers; here they are brothers but not twins. Polyeuctes is a pagan whom Nearchus gains to the faith; so is Rogatian, whom Donatian captures. Polyeuctes is baptized, but only in his own blood; the same is the case with Rogatian. In the *Acta*, Donatian is said to be the younger: he makes appeals to his brother (*germanum*), "qui ad fratrem licet aetate minorem, seniorem tamen ordine credulitatis, festinus accurrit."

Finally, when they are cast into prison, they become *duo fidei luminaria*, and their glory becomes the brightness of the place. When their martyrdom is accomplished, we are told that "beatus Donatianus lucratur germanum, et meruit germanus martyrium." It is just like Nearchus and Polyeuctes. They become the guardians of the city, and Gregory of Tours tells us that, when Nantes was at one time besieged by barbarians, at midnight men robed in white came forth from the basilica of the martyrs, and struck terror into the besieging hosts. The Dioscuri did their duty[1].

There is some reason for supposing that they performed the

[1] This case must be added to the classical cases of Dioscurophany, such as the fight at Lake Regillus, the defeat of the Cimbri, the battle at Pydna, &c.

There is another curious case, which Mr Bass Mullinger points out to me, where the Turks were chased by the Dioscuri. The account runs as follows:

"Fertur quoddam insigne miraculum, sed nos non vidimus, quod duo equites armis coruscis et mirabili facie, exercitum nostrum praecedentes, sic hostibus imminebant ut nullo modo facultatem pugnandi eis concederent; et vero Turcae, cum referire eos lanceis vellent, insauciabiles eis apparebant. Haec autem quae dicimus, ab illis qui eorum consortium spernentes nobis adhaeserunt didicimus. Quod vero pro testimonio adducimus, tale est: Per primam et alteram diem, per totam viam equos inimicorum mortuos cum dominis ipsis reperimus." Raymund, *Hist. Hierosol.* c. 5 (PL. clv. 597).

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Dioscuric task of rain-making. The name Rogatianus reminds one of the Rogation-days of the Church, which are the four days preceding the Ascension, and are said to have been introduced into the Church of Gaul in 470, as days of fasting for the coming harvest. It is highly probable that they are merely the continuation of a pagan lustration. They are said to have been introduced by Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne; Mamertus is highly praised by Sidonius Apollinaris (lib. 7, ep. 1) for his skill in finding martyrs, and Sidonius compares him to Ambrose in this regard, a very doubtful compliment. It means that there was a wide-spread movement for finding Twin Saints to replace the Twin Brethren. Amongst the finds of Mamertus, the chief appear to be Julianus and Ferreolus. We shall come to them presently, for Ferreolus is in our Dioscuric list. It seems likely, therefore, that the movement which established Donatian and Rogatian at Nantes is a bifurcation of the same stream of tendency which led to the introduction of the Rogation-days at Vienne and to the honour of S. Ferreolus. There appears to be no reason for regarding these saints as anything but hagiologic fictions.

As we have stumbled on S. Ferreolus in examining into the story of Rogatianus, let us go on to enquire into the history of this saint.

The name Ferreolus occurs frequently in the Gallic hagiology, the principal cases being,

1. Ferreolus and Ferrutius, the martyrs of Besançon, who are commemorated on June 16.
2. Ferreolus and Julianus, who belong to Vienne and S. Privat, and are celebrated on Sept. 18.
3. Ferrutius and Ferrutio, martyrs of Mainz (Oct. 28).

We begin with the martyrs of Besançon, where a street is still called in their honour *Rue des Martyrs*. They were sent to the city by no less a personage than Irenaeus of Lyons; and the *Acta* expressly say that Irenaeus despatched to Besançon twin brethren, Ferreolus and Ferrutius, who were in fellowship with one another, and were to be co-heirs of the future kingdom. The saints found a grove a mile and a half out-

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side the city, to which they used to retire. And it was here that, in later days, their remains were discovered by a hunter who was following a fox. They are described in the *Acta* as

> "Caeli duo luminaria, gemini fratres, patriam illuminantes, pacem gentibus conferentes";

and I think we need hardly go further with the enquiry, as it is clear from the names, the statement of their twinship, their going to heaven together, their worship in a grove, and their comparison to the lamps of heaven, that we are dealing with a Dioscuric cult, which by the way was an ancient one even in the time of Gregory of Tours.

The second case is that of Ferreolus and Julianus, a pair, of whom Julianus is in the greater honour, having the whole of the second book of the *Glory of the Martyrs* devoted to him by Gregory of Tours. The date of the celebration is Sept. 18[1]. We have the account of the discovery of the head of S. Julian and the body of S. Ferreolus by the Bishop Mamertus, when he was planning to rebuild the basilica of S. Ferreolus at Vienne. The monks who were excavating came upon certain sepulchres; they were filled with astonishment; a bystander, under Divine inspiration, something like the old man at Milan who identified Protase and Gervase, cried out to the excavators that if they continued the work they would find the relics of Julian and Ferreolus. Gregory of Tours proceeds to tell a string of miracles wrought by the saint. It is difficult to extract anything Dioscuric from such a comprehensive list of wonders. Where all wonders are wrought, none can be identified. Julian evidently did his most and best. It is, however, worth noticing that there is a case of perjury, where the saint strikes down a man who was swearing falsely about some threepenny matter; so that perhaps Polyeuctes did not have a monopoly of the care of Gallic truthfulness.

However this may be, the *Acta* tell us that Ferreolus was designed to have Julianus as his colleague in heaven, so that they played Castor and Pollux to one another: from the second Passion of S. Julian we find,

[1] A suspiciously Dioscuric day.

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"Beatus Ferreolus tempore Crispini consularis jam Christi miles, et necdum proditus, officio tribuniciae potestatis, habitu non corde, specie non affectu, apud praefatam urbem fungebatur. Cui videlicet Julianus, aetate jam adultus, collega mox futurus in caelo, providentia divina solatium praebebat in saeculo";

and to this we may add the verses which are said to have been written over their church:

"Heroas Christi geminos haec continet aula,
Julianum capite, corpore Ferreolum";

we may take *geminos* in this effusion literally, in view of the general Dioscurism of the situation.

It is interesting to notice that the Church seems to have been in want of military saints about this time; it is fortunate that there were the Dioscuri to draw upon. I am afraid this will somewhat reduce the list of such saints, which Harnack accepts as historical in his book on the *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums.*

The third case to which we have referred, the martyrs of Mainz, is also a military instance. This Ferrutius is celebrated on the 28th of October, apparently with a companion named Alban. It will be remembered that October 28 is S. Thaddeus' Day.

Of the popularity of S. Ferrutius in Gaul it is hardly necessary to speak further. But the student of Celtic place-names will find that he has left his mark on the country-side. The Celtic ending *-acus* was put on his name, and so we find in Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz,* the following identifications:

Ferrici-acus. O. dorf Féricy, dép. Seine et Marne, arrond. Melun, canton de Châtelet.

Ferruci-acus. von M. Ferrucio. O. j. Saint Étienne de Fursac; dép. Creuse, arrond. Guéret, canton Grand Bourg.

Here the French names Féricy and Fursac are traced to their origin. We may fairly ask whether any of the places thus defined were Dioscuric centres? Something similar occurs with the martyr Florus, whom we have shown to be a Dioscure. All the French places named Fleury, Fleurac, &c., come from his name with a Celtic adjective termination. So that Florus

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did come West, as well as go North and South and East! There are six Fleuracs, three Floracs, about twenty Fleurys, &c. All of them have Florus for patron, and Florus is a Dioscure.

Our next pair of saints are Crispin and Crispinian. Crispin is very well known (i) because he is the patron saint of cobblers; (ii) because he helped the British to win the Battle of Agincourt. But as for Crispinian, I am afraid he is forgotten[1]. It is not very clear why a pair of Dioscuri (supposing them to be such) should mend shoes, and we may suspect that this is a relatively modern attainment. The military achievements are, however, just what we should expect. Let us see, then, whether we can find out anything about Crispin and his companion.

That they have companion names and are therefore closely related is confirmed by the documents, which speak of them as brothers, though not by any means uniformly. However, S. Eligius, who is said to have decorated the shrine of the saints, says (lib. II. c. vii.) that Crispin and Crispinian were holy martyrs and brothers (*germani*). Their headquarters is Soissons, where they are said to have planted Christianity[2]. And it is curious that there were, besides the cathedral, two other Crispin churches besides a building in honour of S. Gervais; while in the diocese of Soissons there are said to be six other churches in their honour. The Soissons Breviary is very suggestive in its treatment of the saints, that they are not only brothers but twins. Examine the following sentence:

"Quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, ut nos *geminata* letitia hodiernae festivitatis excipiat, quae de beatorum martyrum tuorum C. et C.[3] glorificatione procedit: quos eadem fides et passio vere fecit esse *germanos*."

[1] Not by Shakespere, who calls the day St Crispin's, St Crispian's, and Crispin-Crispian. See *Henry V.* Act II. Sc. iii.:

"And Crispin-Crispian shall ne'er go by,
From that day to the ending of the world,
But in it we shall be remembered."

[2] I suppose Agincourt would be in Crispin's diocese, as well as fought on his day.

[3] There is a note in Camden's *Britannia* (I. 228) to the effect that there existed at Stone-end, near Dungeness, a cairn in honour of Crispin and Crispinian, who were shipwrecked at this point. This must be a misunderstanding for a cairn in honour of C. and C., erected by persons who had been shipwrecked and who, therefore, made votive offerings to the heirs of the Dioscuri.

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How very near the writer of these closing words was to saying *geminos!*

The ritual goes on to speak of them as the two olive-trees and the two lamps which stand before the Lord, and says of them, in Biblical language, that they have power to cover the heaven with clouds and to open the gates of heaven; from which we conclude that they are still the children of the sky. In the next passage, from a hymn in the Breviary, we shall see them bringing light to darkened Gaul:

"Quae mortis umbris exitialibus
Olim jacebas, nunc tibi, Gallia,
Aurora surgit, mox diei
Conspicuum paratura lumen.
Crispine, nostris tu regionibus
Noctem fugasti; vox tua praeferens
Facem salutarem, profundas
Luce nova pepulit tenebras."

What more could be said to prove that Crispin is Phosphorus? It would be superfluous to labour this point further.

We pass on to the case of the Tergemini. Attention was drawn to these in the lectures on the Dioscuri: and it may be assumed that the case is made out on their behalf[1]. It is, however, of interest to examine their record from a Western point of view, for, as we have said, these saints are an importation from Cappadocia, where they had been in the habit of chariot-racing and the like. We have some early information about their reception in Gaul. Their headquarters are at Langres, where their sanctuary lay at a distance of two miles from the city. In Bede's *Martyrology of the Saints* we find that they were actually martyred at Langres, Cappadocia being apparently forgotten.

"Apud Lingones natale geminorum Pseusippi, Elasippi, et Melesippi; qui cum essent viginti quinque annorum, cum avia sua Leonilla et Ionilla et Neone, martyrio coronati sunt, tempore Aureliani imperatoris. Gemini quidam ex una arbore suspensi, ligatis manibus sursum, pedibus deorsum,

[1] For an interesting Dioscuric touch we may remark that when Melasippus has a vision of the Lord, he is addressed as follows:

"Melasippus, I have prepared immortal horses for thee and thy brethren."

Cf. the winged horse which the Lord gave to S. Polyeuctes.

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ita extenti ut putarentur ab ipsa membrorum compage separari; et post haec in ignem praecipitati, nec tamen flammis laesi, inter verba orationum simul migraverunt ad Dominum."

Note the martyrdom by hanging on one tree, and the existence of a triad of martyred women side by side with the Tergemini[1]. Some copies of Bede go on to relate their martyrdom. In reference to the names of the women, we may remember that Helen was called Λεοντή in Rhodes (Ptolem. *Hist. Nov.*, p. 189, ed. Westerm.), and according to the same authority she was daughter of Helios and hanged herself on an oak[2].

In the life of Ceolfrid, the abbot of Jarrow, which was written by some anonymous person about the year 720, we find that Ceolfrid's body was brought to the monastery of the Tergemini at Langres[3].

"Cuius (*i.e.* Ceolfridi) corpus...portatum...in monasterium...ad meridianam plagam civitatis (*i.e.* Lingonum) sepultumque in aecclesia sanctorum geminorum quorum nomina sunt haec, Speusippus, Eleosippus, Meleosippus, qui una geniti matre uno partu ibi antiquo tempore martyrio coronati, et in eodem loco sepulti sunt, ubi et avia illorum nomine Leonella sepulta est et ipsa per confessionem martyrii egressa de corpore."

Ceolfrid was buried here on Sept. 26, 716. It is interesting to see how completely the legend of the Dioscuri or Kabiri had taken root, and how apparently indigenous it was regarded.

We need hardly go further with our list. The names of Protasius and Gervasius belong rightly to Milan: they appear at Tours by the importation of relics.

As for Vitalis and Agricola, they also are Ambrose's finds: may we not say, Ambrose's creation? He unearthed them at Bologna, in the Jews' graveyard. Part of the remains he transferred from Bologna to Florence, part went to Gaul, where Namacius, the Bishop of Auvergne, wrought mighty wonders with them. There is also a suspicion that Agricola, of the same pair, was honoured at Rheims. Of these two the tradition is that Agricola was the slave of Vitalis. So that here the mention of twins is not to be found. But suspicion is aroused

[1] This may, however, be due to faulty transcription.

[2] See A. B. Cook, *Class. Rev.*, Nov. 1903. See also Roscher *Lex. s.v.* Leonte.

[3] *Baedae epp.*, ed. Plummer, I. 402.

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from the fact that Vitalis of Ravenna is the father of Protase and Gervase of Milan. We are clearly in the same hagiologic laboratory, and Ambrose is the chief demonstrator. In this connexion it is interesting to quote some sentences from a review of Harnack's *Mission und Ausbreitung* by E. W. Watson (*J. T. S.* Jan. 1904):

"The bodies of the martyrs Vitalis and Agricola were found, it is said, in a Jewish burial-place, and therefore there were so few Christians in the city [Bologna] at the time of Diocletian's persecution that they had no cemetery of their own. The story is a replica of that of Protasius and Gervasius, and S. Ambrose is concerned with both cases, and in both there is the guidance of a vision: the doubtfulness of the matter is increased by there being another S. Vitalis of Ravenna, the father of the Milanese brethren. The point for us is that a story in its successive reproductions becomes more marvellous, as Freeman has shown in many entertaining notes to his *Norman Conquest.* Discovery in a Jewish burial-ground was more wonderful than discovery in a church."

However the bodies were discovered, they are closely mixed up with the manufacture of Christian Dioscuri, and I suggest they may perhaps discharge the same functions.

Nor must we forget that the cult is also proved for Paris from the references to royal oaths by Polyeuctes, to which we have alluded elsewhere; this Dioscuric worship is confirmed archeologically by the discovery of a Pagan altar in Nôtre Dame, on which were represented Castor and Pollux.

We have now said enough to establish conclusively the hypothesis with which we started, viz., that the cult of the Heavenly Twins must have been universal in Gaul, and that it was displaced by a cult of martyrs, of whom the major part must be held to be the creations of the hagiologic fancy.

The places where we have found, or at least suspected, Dioscurism in France include:

> Paris, Amiens, Soissons, Langres, Besançon, Nantes, Tours, S. Privat, Vienne, Étampes, Mainz, Féricy, Fursac, Fleury, and Auvergne (? Clermont).

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And it is extremely improbable that we have either exhausted the matter or seriously over-stated it. For it is clear we are only dealing with a few cases that we happen to have recognized as notable transfers from Paganism to Christianity, and there must be many more where the traces of identification are lost. Then there is a number of cases where Dioscurism can be proved on the testimony of archeology and where we ought to look carefully to see what became of the cult; and in particular there is the wide field of Mithraism, in which we have shown the prominence of the Dioscuri along with the Sun-god. These youths, with the raised and lowered torches, standing for the morning and evening star, perhaps with an oblique reference of a more general character as the Day and the Dark, or Life and Death, are not to be thought of as merely a conventional representation of one of the signs of the Zodiac; the evidence is conclusive that they are more than that, they are objects of worship. And we ought, therefore, to expect that on the side of Mithraism, which was, perhaps, the keenest competitor of Christianity, we should find an absorption of the Dioscuric ideas by the dominant religion. But what of Mithra himself? If Christianity absorbs and veneers the Dioscuri, ought not Mithra also to be similarly treated? The answer is in the affirmative. Look for Mithra in the Calendar and you will find him there. Under the thinnest disguise Mithra appears at Aix in Provence as a saint of the name of Mitraeus[1]. The evidence is from Gregory of Tours, in his book on the *Glory of the Confessors*, c. 71. The account relates how a certain Childeric, in or about the year 566, alienated a farm belonging to the church at Aix, and how the bishop prayed to Metrias to punish the impropriator of ecclesiastical property[2], which he did by throwing the chief offender into a fever and taking all the hair off his body. *Metrias* is actually written *Mitrias* in some MSS.; according to Gregory he was a very holy man and *an athlete* (*inclytus athleta Metrias*)[3]. But he knows nothing about his

[1] The name is variously spelt.

[2] In fact he told Metrias that if he did not avenge him speedily, he should have no more candles and no more psalms.

[3] Apparently this does not mean that he was a martyr. He is not regarded as such. It belongs to his previous state of existence.

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story, except that he was a slave. Perhaps we can add something to his information. If the interpretation we have made is correct, then Aix must have been a centre of Mithraic worship. So we turn to Cumont, *Monuments et Mystères*, t. II. p. 436, where we shall find it said of Aix (*Aquae Sextiae*) that a portion of a Mithraic monument was found in the neighbourhood of the city and presented to its museum in 1839. So that we need not be surprised that in the days of Gregory of Tours the patron saint of the place was named Mitreas. For Aix is one of the Mithraic centres[1].

A comparison of our Dioscuric centres with the map of the Mithraic centres in Cumont will show that Dioscurism is a feature of Gallic religion, quite independently of the Mithraic movement. Mithraism in Gaul is not a wide-spread cult, it follows the Roman armies, and is *par excellence* a soldier's religion. But the worship of the Dioscuri is a religion of the people, and existed amongst the Celts from the earliest ages[2].

But perhaps we have now said enough to establish our position that the Church in Gaul took over the Twins and made saints of them, and that in many cases the saints are the Twins and nothing more.

Before leaving this point I may allude to a little brochure by M. Albert Dufourcq, which is entitled *La Christianisation des Foules*, and has the general heading, *Science et Religion, Études pour le temps présent.* M. Dufourcq has attempted to defend the substitution by the Church of her martyrs for the

[1] It will be asked whether *Cautes* and *Cautopates*, who appear so often in votive inscriptions, shared the forced conversion of Mithra? The nearest I can get to *Cautes* is a saint named *Cottus* in the *Mart. Hier.*, where he appears on the same day (May 22) as *Castus* and *Cassius*, a pair of Campanian saints, and with *Rogatus* and *Rogatianus*, who are evidently a doublet of *Donatianus* and *Rogatianus* (who come on May 24, two days later), and perhaps the original form. Moreover my suspicion as to the Dioscurism of Cottus is confirmed by finding in the Greek calendar a pair named Καττίδιος and Καττιδιανός, who are described as ἅγιοι αὐτάδελφοι. But I can find no records of the deeds of any of these worthy people. Cumont gives a list of Persian and Mithraic names in which *Sisicottus* stands side by side with *Sisimithres*. It should be remembered that the Sun enters Gemini on May 21.

[2] Cf. Diod. Sic. IV. 56, for the honour paid by the Celts to the Twins: Ἀποδείξεις δὲ τούτων φέρουσι, δεικνύντες τοὺς παρὰ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν κατοικοῦντας, σεβομένους μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν τοὺς Διοσκόρους.

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ancient cults on the ground of necessity, along with the quiet assumption that the martyrs must be real. He is very angry with myself in an article on my *Dioscuri* in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, for having gone a step beyond his investigations, which are more in the interests of religion than they are of science; the language in which he describes me as a conjurer (*Robert Houdin*) and a second-hand hagiologist (*hagiographe d'occasion*) is sufficiently striking. It appears I am at once too clever and too ill-informed. The only reply I can make to such denunciations is to try to learn something from M. Dufourcq's facts and ignore his prejudices. Perhaps he may live to expand the former and to outgrow the latter: and I recommend him to model his controversial style more closely on that of my learned Roman Catholic friends (other than himself) who have found it necessary to dispute my theories.

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CHAPTER X.

That the Calendar of the Italian Saints is also tainted with Dioscurism.

THE foregoing chapter was a long one, and it will hardly be possible to bestow the same attention on all parts of the world outside France, unless our remarks are to swell to the size of a reduced edition of the *Acta Sanctorum*. It will be noticed, however, that amongst the Dioscuri of the French Church there were several cases of foreign importation, and especially, as might have been expected, of importation from Italy. We shall, therefore, spend a little time upon the Italian Twins.

It is quite natural that we should look for traces of the Gemini upon Italian soil, for, over and above the wide diffusion of the worship of Castor and Pollux[1], we have many traces that the cult of the Twins existed in a variety of forms in the Italian cities, and certainly Castor and Pollux have no monopoly of the country, any more than they had in Greece, the variety of whose Twin-cults we have already had occasion to notice. When we find such names as Picumnus and Pilumnus, Mutunus and Tutunus amongst Latin household gods, we must recognize the tendency from which they arose. And the variety of the cult from place to place in early times can easily be indicated. For instance, at Praeneste there was a cult of the Twins in an independent form; for we are told by Servius in his comment on Verg. *Aen.* VII. 678, that Praeneste had its *Divi Fratres*. The

[1] According to Albert, *Le Culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie*, p. iii., "Partout en Italie on retrouve les temples de ces dieux"; "Rien de plus fréquent ni de plus varié que les représentations figurées de Castor et de Pollux."

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story is a curious one, and introduces the sister of the Twins. For this reason I transcribe some sentences:

"Praeneste...ibi erant pontifices et dii indigetes sicut etiam Romae; erant autem illic duo fratres qui divi appellabantur; horum soror, dum ad focum sederet, resiliens scintilla ejus uterum percussit, unde dicitur concepisse."

We can hardly be wrong in recognizing that the Twins and their sister were honoured at Praeneste in an independent manner; if it had been simply the Roman religion over again Servius would hardly have alluded to it. It is the independent parallel to the Roman religion to which he draws attention.

There are places in Italy where we should expect the worship of the Twins in its conventional form to be active and long-continued. For example, Verona ought certainly to be such a centre: for was it not in this city that the Dioscuri intervened to help Marius to defeat the Cimbri[1]? We have shown in the previous chapter that Aquileia had a cult of the Twins and their sister (Cantius, Cantianus, and Cantianella). It is interesting that it appears to have shared with Vicenza and Verona the services of another pair of great brethren, Felix and Fortunatus. From the names we should suspect these to be twins; and their *Acta* say expressly in the account of their trial and martyrdom at Vicenza that they were brothers:

"Devenerunt huc ad nostram civitatem quidam *germani fratres*, qui se Christianos profitentur."

The inscription in their honour over the altar at Vicenza was to the following effect:

"Hic requiescit corpus S. Felicis et caput S. Fortunati, martyrum *ac fratrum*."

[1] Plut. *Marius*, 26. At Verona is preserved the famous votive relief of Argenidas to the Dioscuri; where we have the cult represented in so many different forms, the heroes standing, the urns of the dead heroes entwined with serpents, and the sacred beams or δόκανα which were their Spartan symbol. But this relief was found at Este.

These δόκανα are composed of a pair of upright beams, connected by a cross-beam in the form of the letter H; and they correspond to the unfinished brick wall of the Babylonian zodiacal signs, in the sense that they show the Twins to have been builders. Miss Harrison points out to me that the δόκανα become actual objects of worship. See Plutarch, *De Frat. Amore* c. 1.; τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἀφιδρύματα οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται δόκανα καλοῦσι· ἔστι δὲ δύο ξύλα παράλληλα δυσὶ πλαγίοις ἐπεζευγμένα, which suggests *two* crossbeams.

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Conversely, the head of S. Felix and the body of S. Fortunatus were at Aquileia. And a part of the relics of S. Fortunatus were, I think, transferred to Verona.

Here we are not expressly told that they were twins, but then those who canonised them did not, perhaps, want to tell us too much. So they said *germani* and not *gemini*. In any case they may be called a pair of divine brethren, which is really all that is wanted.

But now let us examine a more curious and interesting case, for which we must go in the first instance to Cappadocia, as we did in the case of the Tergemini.

Ruinart, in his *Acta Martyrum Sincera*, p. 532, gives the account of the martyrdom of three Christian teachers, who had been sent by Vigilius, the bishop of Trent, to convert the pagans in his district. The names of the three are Sisinnius, Martyrius, and Alexander, of whom the tradition says that the last two were brethren. They are also said to have travelled from the East and to have been hospitably received by S. Ambrose, who, presumably, sent them to Vigilius.

The names are peculiar. We should hardly expect a saint to be called Martyrius in advance[1]: so the second name is wrong. We shall show reasons presently for believing that his name was Sisinnodorus, and that he was the twin brother of Sisinnius. But let us keep for the present to the *Acta*. The name Sisinnius is of Persian origin. According to Cumont, *Mon.* II. 85, a great number of Persian names begin in this way, as Sisamnes, Sisimithres, *Sisines*, Sisicottos, Sisimakes, &c. But the meaning of the name is obscure. It agrees, however, with what the *Acta* say of the Eastern origin of the saints[2].

The date of their martyrdom is said to be 397, and the celebration May 29.

The story is that Sisinnius had succeeded in building a church in one of the lower valleys of the Alps; and it chanced

[1] Fortunatus in one of his poems calls him Maturius, which would evade the difficulty. But this will not do, for Vigilius, in writing the account of the martyrs, speaks of the prophecy in his name, "adrisit quod vocabatur nomen, et meritis cumulavit; statuit natale vocabulum ut origine, sic passione venturum."

[2] There is a Christian bishop of Isaura Nova named Sisamoas, probably of the fourth century. See Miss Ramsay in *Journ. Hell. Soc.* for 1904, p. 272. Moas is probably a Lycaonian deity.

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that the pagans on one occasion were performing a cult for their fields, a festival in honour of Saturn, in which they carried about a *malum lustrale*, and took up contributions of animals, during which ceremonies the Christian teachers and their converts provoked them by refusing to take part in the proceedings, and there was a riot which led to the desecration of the church and the murder of the teachers. Sisinnius, in particular, was dragged about like a beast with a cow-bell round his neck; and finally Sisinnius and Martyrius were burnt on a pyre made of the beams of the desecrated church. But their *twin and fraternal* bodies having been cast into the flames[1], it came to Alexander's turn to be seized and tortured. The story is based on two letters of Vigilius, Bishop of Trent, one written to Simplicianus, Bishop of Milan, the other to John Chrysostom. One would like to believe that a tale so well told as this of Vigilius was trustworthy, and there is much verisimilitude in the account. On the other hand there are features that provoke mistrust. In the letter to Simplicianus, Alexander and Martyrius are said to be brothers: "*Alexander, Martyrii consanguinitate germanus.*" In the letter to Chrysostom, the bodies of Sisinnius and Martyrius are spoken of as twins and brothers. It looks as if the writer had forgotten the relationships of the triad. Moreover, it does not sound at all likely that three Cappadocians should be sent by an Italian bishop to convert an Alpine village. The parallel which might have been quoted from the Tergemini at Langres has disappeared; or, rather, gone in the opposite direction[2]. And now comes the weightiest objection of all to believing the story in the form in which it comes down to us. We have evidence from the East, to which region the *Acta* have assigned Sisinnius, that Sisinnius was a Dioscure. The argument is extremely interesting and curious.

There is a rare tract by Leo Allatius entitled *De Graecorum hodie quorundam opinationibus epistola*, in which he discusses many curious customs of the modern Greeks and discloses a good acquaintance with their folk-lore. Amongst other things

[1] "Praemissis in ignem *geminis atque germanis* ante corporibus."

[2] Theodore of Tarsus might, perhaps, be quoted against me.

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he tells how two young men named Sisinnius and Sisinnodorus rescued their sister from the machinations of a horrible ghoul which obsessed and worried her. The sister's name was Melitene, and, in the expectation of offspring, she had built herself a tower and shut herself in it, to escape from the ghoul that wanted to devour her child. The ghoul had already eaten half-a-dozen of them[1]. While she was living in the tower the two saints of God, Sisinnius and Sisinnodorus, who were her brothers, came, in the course of a military expedition, into the neighbourhood of the tower, and decided to pay their sister a visit. After much pleading, she opened the door of the tower and let them in. The ghoul seized the opportunity and got in also, having apparently secreted itself in the throat of one of the horses that the brethren were riding. When midnight came, the ghoul resumed its activity and killed Melitene's child. After this the creature makes its escape. What follows is in true folk-lore manner. The brethren give chase on winged horses and pursue the ghoul over Mount Lebanon: they ask the pine-tree whether it has seen the creature. The pine-tree pretends not to know and is cursed. Then they ask the olive-tree. So the olive-tree tells what it has seen, and gets a blessing. Finally they catch the ghoul hiding on the sea-shore, and demand that she shall disgorge the seven children that she has eaten. "Yes," says the ghoul, "when you disgorge your mother's milk." So Sisinnius prays to God, and promptly meets the challenge by the required evacuation, gets the children back and a phylactery, in addition, to ward off future troubles.

Now, in this story it is implied that Sisinnius and Sisinnodorus are already canonised, for they appear in the tale not only as a pair of cavalry officers, but as the saints of God, and it is equally clear that one of the motives of the folk-lorist is the story of the Twins who liberate their sister, hidden in a tower; in other words, they are the Dioscuri, as, indeed, their names suggest[2]. Such a story was responsible for the tale which

[1] It is a common trait in folk-lore. The dragon does it (or tries to) in the Apocalypse.

[2] We may recall the capture of Helen by Theseus, and her liberation by the Twins.

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Jerome of Prague tells from Lithuania of the Signs of the Zodiac liberating the Sun, who was imprisoned in a tower. The foundation of the story is in the Veda, as well as in the Greek literature; it must be a very early bit of mythology as well as a very late and persistent bit of folk-lore[1].

So far, then, we are clear as to the meaning of the Eastern element in the Western martyrdom; it is Dioscuric, and for that reason we suspect that the second martyr, Martyrius, ought to be Sisinnodorus. The martyrdom at Anagnia in the diocese of Trent is now parallel to a number of similar canonisations that were going on at this time all over France and northern Italy. The necessity for the canonisations arose out of the strong hold that the Twins had taken in northern Italy and the lower valleys of the Alps. There is reason to believe that the case differed from that of the French cults described above. In France the Twins, for the most part, ruled by themselves: in northern Italy they were, in many places, the assessors of Mithras. There was a Mithraeum at Trent, and a Mithraic inscription has been found at Anagnia (Anauni), to which place Vigilius had sent his preachers. Here Mithra was before Christ, but perhaps after Saturn, to whose cult the Mithraic Chronos was readily attached. Hence the necessity for the canonisations of which we have been speaking. The starting-point for them appears to be Ambrose's *coup d'état* (if we ought not rather to say *coup d'église*) with Protasius and Gervasius. If he imitated his own successes, as it is pretty certain that he did, and with added marvels, why should not neighbouring bishops imitate him also; and so the wicked Dioscuri be chased out of the world and safely housed in the Church? The period following

[1] Perhaps we had better transcribe the account of the liberation of the Sun, as given by Aeneas Sylvius (Pius II.), c. 26. "Profectus (sc. Hieronymus) introrsus aliam gentem reperit quae solem celebrant et malleum ferreum rarae magnitudinis singulari cultu venerantur; interrogati sacerdotes quid ea sibi veneratio vellet, responderunt olim pluribus mensibus non fuisse visum solem quem rex potentissimus captum reclusisset in carcere munitissimae turris, signa Zodiaci deinde opem tulisse Soli, ingentique malleo perfregisse turrim &c." This shows the popular belief in Lithuania at the beginning of the 15th century. For "Sun" read "daughter of the Sun" and for "Signs of the Zodiac" read 'the Heavenly Twins."

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the date 386, when Protase and Gervase were found, was no doubt a moving time for the artificers of ecclesiastical legends[1].

We must now spend a little time over the case of the Milanese martyrs, for the conclusions at which we have arrived have provoked some strong contradictions on the part of the defenders of the integrity and good faith of S. Ambrose. Nothing that was said in *Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* has provoked so much hostility as the criticism upon S. Ambrose and his saints, not even the identification of Jesus and Judas Thomas with a pair of twins worshipped in Edessa, though the latter discovery is, from a theological point of view, of much greater moment. We must try and explain, as briefly as possible, why the objections which have been made to my solution of the problem of Protase and Gervase are invalid. In particular I shall have to refer to an especially well-written and temperate criticism published in the *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* by Pio Franchi di Cavalieri[2], as well as to an excellent review by Hippolyt Delahaye in the *Analecta Bollandiana* for 1904. Let me say at once that I am quite prepared to admit one or two minor errors and inaccuracies. As stated previously, the case against my treatment of the martyr Dioscoros is probably a good one. He may be a real person and not a myth. But the solution of the problem does not turn upon minute points like this, which are quite unessential to the main argument[3]. Neither does the conclusion depend upon such minor points as M. Pio Franchi makes, as that if Ambrose had really copied his saints from the Dioscuric model they would have been robed in red, and not in white. In view of the tradition in the Apocalypse, it is difficult to see how martyrs could be dressed in anything but white, nor do they cease to be substitutes for the Heavenly Twins because they have changed colour. S. Ambrose was at liberty to dress his

[1] It was in 396 that Ambrose discovered the remains of Agricola and Vitalis: just one year before the martyrdom of Sisinnius, and the distribution of his relics.

[2] *l.c.* t. IX. 1903, pp. 109—126.

[3] My reference to Dioscoros does not take ten lines, and does not affect the argument on Protase or Gervase.

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fighting men in white, if he preferred: he was in harmony, at all events, with the armies of heaven, which followed the Lamb dressed in white and riding white horses. Why should not S. Ambrose's saints wear white? Their identification with the Twins does not turn upon the colour but upon much more definite considerations.

Perhaps it will assist M. Pio Franchi's imagination if I give him a fresh instance of the appearance of Protasius and Gervasius as Dioscuri (one more case of the persistence of Dioscurophanies in time of trouble), in which he will be able to examine the colour of their raiment, with an assurance that the figures in question really are the Heavenly Twins.

In the year 1266 A.D., the saints appeared in battle on the side of the Poles who were hard put to it, in a conflict with the Ruthenians. The Polish king came to the conclusion that arms without prayer were insufficient, and he and his wife Kinga addressed themselves to the saints with the following result, according to the *Acta Sanctorum*:

"Oranti enim ante pugnam Kingae, *duo in candida veste splendidissimi iuvenes* adstitisse memorantur, qui secuturi mox proelii felicem exitum spopondere, *eosque fuisse Gervasium et Protasium*, quorum triumpho illustris erat certaminis dies, communis persuasio constanter declaravit."

It will not be questioned, I suppose, that the popular tradition is here the direct continuation and obvious survival of the appearances of the Dioscuri with which the ancient histories are so thickly strewn. And they do not cease to be Dioscuri, because they appear in white, and because their names are now Protase and Gervase.

It is, however, urged against me, and this is one of the main objections, that S. Ambrose ought to be judged from his own statement of the case, and not from the report of a pseudo-Ambrose writing at the end of the fifth century, say one hundred years later. The object of this limitation of the documents is the exclusion of the definite statement that Protase and Gervase were twins, and, if need be, the subtraction of the vision which Ambrose saw. The matter, then, stands as follows, from the point of view of the objectors: Ambrose says nothing about twins, but someone else says it a century later. The intro-

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duction of the twins is therefore a legendary accretion, caused by the similarity of the names of Protase and Gervase. Well, at all events it is conceded that we were not wrong in recognizing a twin-like feature in the names of Protase and Gervase. But, it is said, they were not so named because they were twins, but they became twins because they were so named! Unhappily the solution is rendered impossible by the discovery of so many similar and parallel cases, in which we have proved that the names are due to the twins and not the twins to the names. If the reader will go over some of the cases which have been discussed in the previous pages, as well as those in the *Dioscuri in the Christian Legends*, he will see the absurdity of isolating one single pair for special treatment, simply in order to defend the character of one honoured name in the history of the Church. We must use the same method all round, where the phenomena are substantially the same.

M. Delahaye, I think, sees this, and attempts to get rid of some of the cases adduced, so as to reduce the weight of the cumulative evidence. He wishes to persuade me that Marcellus and Marcellianus are real persons, and that, if I visit Rome, I shall find the church in which they were deposited. Well, I have been in Rome, and know where to look for them and their church: it is just beyond the Forum, not far from the Arch of Titus[1]. Two other saints also have a church not far from the same position, viz. Cosmas and Damian, who can be conclusively shown to be substitutes for the Dioscuri, brought to the Forum, no doubt, on account of their Dioscuric antecedents. If Cosmas and Damian were brought there for public purposes, and in succession to the ancient guardians of public faith, what is wrong in my explanation that another pair in the same neighbourhood, who are certainly sufficiently twin-like, should be brought there for the same purpose? Apply the same treatment to the similar cases.

Meanwhile we have gained a great deal in the admission

[1] Their shrine is described as "ecclesia pervetusta Romae, quae ab amphitheatro venientibus non procul ab arcu Titi et Vespasiani ad laevam." Indeed it is said that when their bodies were first brought to Rome they were deposited in the Church of Cosmas and Damian.

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that Protase and Gervase were recognized as twins a hundred years after their discovery. Then, from this time on, they are at liberty to discharge Dioscuric functions. For example, it is well known that the Twins were patrons of the charioteers in the arena, and that it was part of their function to attend the races, and take part in them. Their statues were commonly placed at the entrance to the amphitheatre, and as they took an interest, based on personal experience, in the chariot-racing and boxing, it was inevitable that the boxers and racers should seek their assistance and support. What if S. Protase should have inherited from Polydeuces an interest in single combats? The athletes would then have found their patron, or rather, would not have lost him. What if S. Gervais discharged a similar function for the charioteers? Can we predict what he would develop into? There is a remarkable case in the French calendar of a saint named Fiacre, whose name has become attached to cabs, and who is the patron saint of the French cab-drivers. When we order a fiacre, we are doing a religious act! something like the profane act of taking a hansom-cab in England, a machine which is named after its inventor, one Hansom, as the French one is after its patron saint. In like wise the name of Gervais became a popular one for cab-drivers as well as their machines; all the race of Jarvises and Jarveys[1] and Garvies in England, Scotland, and Ireland are named after the saint, and so is the carriage which they drive, which is known in the later English literature as a "jarvey." When we consult

[1] The references in Murray's *English Dictionary* do not take us back as far as we could wish for the origin of the term Jarvey. We are told that Jarvey is a by-form of Jarvis or Jervis. That it means, 1, a hackney coachman; 2, a hackney coach. Under 1, a ref. to Serjeant Ballantine, *Exper.* II. 19, "The driver was called a jarvey, a compliment paid to the class in consequence of one of their number having been hanged."

Dr Murray informs me privately that the name is especially common in Dublin, and that it struck him long ago as being used more respectfully there than here. He heard a fellow-traveller, an Irishman, repeatedly address their carman with "Take us to such a place, Jarvey," as if it were the man's Christian name. The explanation he gave was, that "we say *jarvey* to every carman." This was as far back as 1864. Dr Murray also says that if he had known that S. Gervais could be made out to be the patron saint of charioteers (which we have shown to be a legitimate inference from their Dioscuric character), "I should, *most certainly*, have suggested him as the name-father of the Jarvies."

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the etymologists, they do not know anything as to the *raison d'être* of a Jarvey, whether man or machine, except that it is said that the name is given in honour of a celebrated brother of the craft who met his death by hanging. They do not discern Gervais the Martyr behind the condemned Jarvie, though they would be quick enough to make the connexion between the saint and the Fiacre[1].

At all events it is admitted that the general public knew that Protase and Gervase were twins, even if it took them a hundred years to make the discovery, and it may be readily inferred that they knew what twins they were. They were not merely making a deduction from the similarity of the names of the saints, for such a deduction would not tell them that Gervais was patron of carriage-drivers.

But now let us come to a really strong argument of Pio Franchi's, of which I will confess that nothing in his whole paper so set me thinking and came so near to convincing me that I was wrong. The argument was drawn from the mosaic representations of the saints at Milan itself, which go back very nearly to the time of S. Ambrose himself, and which represent them, one as bearded, and the other as bare-faced, in which case you would say at once that they are not twins and were never meant to be thought of as such[2]. I confess this impressed me much. Nor did it make much weight on the other side that Pio Franchi pointed out, with great frankness, that in the Ravenna mosaics[3], which must also be very early,

[1] Observe I do not say S. Fiacre was a Heavenly Twin, with a predilection for the racecourse. I have not proved that; he is said to have come from North Ireland or Scotland. If anyone can show that he had a brother named Farquhar, then I am prepared to accept him as a twin. One of the kings of Scotland had sons named Farquhar, Fiaker, and Donald. S. Fiacre's Acts do not help us much. The only thing that he does of a Dioscuric nature is to save people from drowning, of which there are some good cases. He is called in the service-book "infirmorum baculus, anchora naufragorum," and, by the way, his Acts do speak of him as a morning-star. "Certe rutilat sicut stella matutina in coelis, sed sibi devote famulantibus patrocinii et beneficiorum radios extendit in terra." One would like to know more of S. Fiacre.

[2] See Ratti, *Il più antico ritratto di S. Ambrogio in Ambrosiana.* Milano, 1897. (A collection of papers in honour of S. Ambrose.)

[3] The mosaics of S. Apollinaris and S. Vitalis. He might have added the Neapolitan representation of Protase as young and beardless. See Ratti, *l. c.*

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the saints are represented as equal and similar[1]. For after all, the question was, what did they think at Milan itself? And even if Ravenna be the birthplace or the reported scene of the martyrdom of the saints, it is Milan that makes their history. For a short time this objection had great weight with me, and I think it was admirably stated by Pio Franchi. I think, however, that I can convince him from his own mosaic that he is wrong.

To begin with, what do we know of the artistic representation of twins and of their description in literature?

We may go back to Greek art, and we shall find that on the chest of Kypselos, one of the Heavenly Twins had a beard and the other had not[2]. And the same distinction will be found on a sarcophagus at Arles[3]. We may examine the monuments of Amphion and Zethus, and we shall find that one of them is rough and the other is smooth. When we turn to the Bible, and examine the case of Esau and Jacob, we are told that they are differentiated by the hair; Jacob was smooth and Esau hairy. And if we turn to the legends of the Masai people in East Africa, recently brought to light by Capt. Merker, we shall find that Esau and Jacob are replaced by a Kabiric triad, in which the practical difference between them is that Esau No. 1 has a long beard, Esau No. 2 a moderate beard, and Jacob no beard at all. It is much the case of the mosaic at Milan.

In the same way if we were examining the case of the Babylonian Dioscuri, known as Gilgamesh and Eabani[4], we

p. 53; and there are many similar pictures, of varying antiquity, to which Ratti refers.

[1] I suppose, then, that Pio Franchi wishes us to believe that the Ravenna mosaics go with Pseudo-Ambrose, and the Milan mosaics with Ambrose himself.

[2] Εἰσὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι Διόσκουροι, ὁ ἕτερος οὐκ ἔχων πω γένεια, μέση δ' αὐτῶν Ἑλένη. Pausanias v. 19. 2.

[3] Albert, *Le culte de Castor et Pollux*, p. 108. "Sur tous ces bas-reliefs, C. et P. sont figurés aux deux angles toujours dans la même attitude, avec la même costume et les mêmes attributs, c'est à dire le cheval, la lance et le chlamyde. Remarquons seulement que sur le sarcophage d'Arles, par exception, l'un des deux frères est imberbe et l'autre barbu."

[4] See Jensen, *Mythen und Epen*, p. 121. Nimrod Epos, Taf. 1:

"Mit Haar bedeckt ist sein ganzer Leib:
Er ist...an Haupthaar wie ein Weib:
Der...seines Haupthaars reckt sich wie Weizen."

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shall find that Eabani is differentiated from Gilgamesh by the length of his hair.

It appears to be the common method of making the distinction in folk-lore as well as in popular art. And it follows that Pio Franchi has misunderstood the meaning of the beard in the mosaic; it is the way to distinguish one of the Dioscuri from the other, and the fact that the distinction is habitually made in this way, confirms us in our belief that the legends of the Dioscuri are behind the legends of Protase and Gervase. The difference between the Milan mosaic and that of Ravenna means that the one artist is differentiating his twins and the other is not.

On Pio Franchi's own showing, then, the Dioscuric elements go back to the time of Ambrose, and are not to be credited to a later and legendary hand. M. Pio Franchi's mistake (and I almost followed him in it) was due to a want of recognition of the traditional in folk-lore and the conventional in art[1].

But it is further urged, and Prof. Ratti makes a great point of this in the volume of Ambrosian Commemorations, that not only does Protase have a beard, but that the beard is white. In other words, the saints are not twins, nor even brothers! But here again it would have been well not to draw too rapid a conclusion, in view of the fact that all the other monuments make them equal and similar. The explanation may lie in another direction. Suppose, for instance, the Twins had become the traditional figures for Life and Death, how would an artist of early days have depicted them?

Prof. Ratti thinks the mosaics in question are nearly coeval with S. Ambrose, and that they were expressly designed

[1] I have not said anything in this connexion about the triad of Prussian deities; because it is not yet clear what they stand for. According to the Chronicles quoted by Grunau, they are respectively old, middle-aged, and young; the middle-aged one being certainly Perkuno, the Thunder-god (=Thor). The difference between the three is largely made in this case from the beards. Moreover, it seems clear that Perkuno has some connexion with the Twins: for in the Lithuanian folk-songs he is said to liberate the daughter of the Sun, which is the office of the Twins (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 7, 79 n.). But what the connexion is, or how far it applies to the old Prussian triad, is still obscure. Is it possible that in this religion the Twins changed character, and became the patrons respectively of Life or Death?

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to exclude the belief that Protase and Gervase were twins. I accept the admission that, in the earliest days of the cult, people wanted to believe that they were twins: so that either the names suggested it, or there was further information on the point to be had.

Enough has now been said on this point, and I hope the evidence of the mosaic has been cleared up. Those who are interested in tracing the connexion between the Heavenly Twins and the Holy Oak will be interested to know that there is some suspicion that Protase and Gervase were worshipped at a holy oak in Milan. The *Acta Sanctorum* make the naïve admission (*l.c.* p. 702) that it is still in the memory of old men that there was a church not far from the Exchange which bore the name of *Protasii ad Monachos*, but originally was known as *S. Protasii ad Quercum*, because there was a tall oak in the neighbourhood (olim quippe procera ibi quercus in propinquo stabat).

We may here recall a statement which was made on a previous page[1] to the effect that one of the titles by which the Dioscuri (and the saints who displaced them) were known was that of "boni medici," or *good physicians*. We anticipated the evidence, so far as to state that this was especially true of Protase and Gervase, the martyrs of Milan. One side of their activity was medical; certainly that does not surprise us, for all the saints do cures; but they are actually known by the name of "boni medici," and the title is engraved deeply on the cult. For example, the Ambrosian Liturgy has for its introit on the day of S. Protase and S. Gervase the words:

"Bonos medicos habentes patriae nostrae, gaudete fratres[1], beatos Protasium et Gervasium, Martyres Domini et Ambrosium."

And we can see that the allusion to the good physicians is not a mere chance reference to any special miracles wrought by the saints, if we consider that the very words were wrought into the ecclesiastical vestments and the linen cloths used in the sanctuary. There are extant a number of catalogues of these vestments, the writing of which goes back to the eleventh and

[1] See p. 54.

[2] Should not the comma be placed after "gaudete"?

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twelfth centuries. Amongst these we find such expressions as the following:

"Panni linei super altare v; unum ex is cum bonos medicos...."

Here the words "bonos medicos" are found worked on the altar-cloth.

On another fragment of a catalogue of vestments, we have as follows:

"Panni linii vii [I] cum bonos medicos srciptum [scriptum]."

And a third fragment has:

"Maiora pallia xxviii et minora xxxviiii. Bonos medicos."

These altar-cloths reflect the opening sentence of the Mass for the day of S. Protase and S. Gervase; but they do not merely reflect the words, they emphasise and draw attention to them; that is, the expression "boni medici" furnishes the key-words for the right understanding of the saints.

Thus while S. Ambrose greeted the saints as his military allies, the liturgy of his church conserved the memory of their medical skill; both points of view belong to the same mythological origin.

There is another point which has come up in Pio Franchi's criticism, to which we might, perhaps, give a moment's attention.

According to *Dioscuri in the Christian Legends*, Marcellus and Marcellianus are twin brethren; the *Acta* say so, and we follow the *Acta* in such an admission. It was pointed out that their pagan father attempted to turn them away from the faith. He cries out in protest:

"O filii! baculus senectutis meae, et *geminum lumen*, cur sic mortem diligitis!"

Here we italicised the words *geminum lumen* on account of the fitness of the expression to the case of a pair of Heavenly Twins. But Pio Franchi objects that it is merely a quotation from the book of Tobit and therefore has nothing to do with Castor and Pollux. I am sorry not to have recognized the origin of the passage which is certainly from the Latin of Tobit x. 4. I thought I knew my Tobit[1]! It is interesting to

[1] The passage runs as follows in the Vulgate; it is the wail of Anna over her absent son: "Heu heu me, fili mi, ut quid te misimus peregrinari, lumen oculorum nostrorum, baculum senectutis nostrae," &c.

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find a pagan father deterring his children from the Christian faith by means of a quotation from the book of Tobit. This part of the *Acta* certainly belongs to the historian and not to the events! But Pio Franchi does not notice that the historian (or, if you prefer it, the father of the saints) has inserted in the text of Tobit the word *geminum* before *lumen*. This word certainly does not come from Tobit, and so the problem stands where it did before; for it is in the added word that the mind of the editor is to be sought. Can there be any doubt now as to the motive that prompted the addition?

But we need not pursue the matter further, either as regards Marcellus and Marcellianus, or Protase and Gervase. The secret is out, in either case. They are twins and heavenly twins; even a second-hand hagiographer, as M. Dufourcq would say, can draw the conclusion.

It will be very difficult to restore S. Ambrose's reputation after recent investigations: Dom Morin has taken from him the authorship of the *Te Deum*, and I have taken away his character for truthfulness. We may be sorry for both results, but we must do our best to endure them. There is no doubt that S. Ambrose added immensely to his popular reputation by his discoveries. He is the prince of ecclesiastical body-snatchers. We have shown above how Sidonius Apollinaris, when he wished to compliment S. Mamert on the finding of the relics of twin saints, compares him to S. Ambrose. All the great cities of northern Italy went to Ambrose for sanctities, and he was to them as a spring of water whose waters fail not. However much some of his modern defenders try to minimise his skill, with a view of saving his credit, and to reduce his visions and miracles to a basis that may be acceptable to the twentieth century, the real verdict must be that of Ruinart, that there was no one to equal him in the business. "Felix inter alios fuit in eiusmodi thesauris effodiendis sanctus Ambrosius Mediolanensis antistes."

And now let us move further East, and see how the great Twin Brethren held their own in the Greek and Syrian Churches.

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CHAPTER XI.

That S. Cosmas and S. Damian were a pair of Heavenly Twins.

We have already had some suggestions that the East was moving as fast as the West, if not faster, in the attempt to deal with the surviving cults of the pagan world. We showed, for example, how Cappadocia had displaced the three Kabiri by the Tergemini, and that these had become local saints at Langres at a very early period. We also showed that some district in the East, probably Cappadocia, was responsible for the canonisation of Sisinnius and Sisinnodorus, and that there was reason to suspect that these saints were welcomed in North Italy. But of all the great creations of saints, none is equal to the success which the Eastern Church had in the manufacture of S. Cosmas and S. Damian, and in putting them into circulation. We shall devote a little space to these two great healers and trace their lineage, so far as it may be possible to do so. In the *Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* I did not discuss Cosmas and Damian, because my enquiry into them was incomplete, and as there was nothing in their names to suggest the Heavenly Twins, I wished to take more time to work out the identification fully.

There is, however, no doubt on the point. It is easy to demonstrate (1) that they are twins, (2) that they displaced Castor and Pollux at Constantinople and elsewhere, and (3) that they discharge all the functions that are expected from a pair of "great brethren." The hagiologic literature represents them as a pair of twins. A reference to the *Analecta Bollandiana* (VIII. 151, 152) will explain how they appear in the literature of the saints:

"Tempore illo mulier quaedam benedicta...concepit et peperit duos geminos."

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Gregory of Tours, in his *Glory of the Martyrs*, c. 98, begins his discourse about them as follows:

"*Duo vero gemini*, Cosmas scilicet et Damianus, arte medici, postquam Christiani effecti sunt, solo virtutum merito et orationum interventu, infirmitates languentium depellebant; qui diversis cruciatibus consummati, *in coelestibus sunt conjuncti*, multa miracula incolis ostendentes."

That allusion to their union in heaven, following on the statement that they were twins, looks as if Gregory knew the characters he was describing, and could have written this book for me, if he had wanted to.

We learn, also, incidentally, from Gregory how early and how well-established they were in Rome. For in his tenth book of the *History of the Franks* he tells us of an inundation of the Tiber, and how the Pope (Gregory I.) ordered a solemn litany to be performed, in which the clergy were to gather in seven leading churches and to make procession to a central place. The clergy of the sixth ward (*regio*) were to meet at SS. Cosmas and Damian, those of the fourth ward at SS. Protase and Gervase. At this time, then, the end of the sixth century, the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian must have been one of the leading churches in Rome.

That is the way the West knew them. The Greek Church knows that they were brothers, but does not, I think, say expressly that they were twins. What we gather from the Greek accounts is that the cult of S. Cosmas and S. Damian was known to them in three forms. According to one of the traditions, they were a pair of Asiatic Christians who practised medicine without fee (hence their title of *Anargyri*, or Unmonied) and wrought all kinds of cures and miracles.

According to the second account, the scene of their activity is Rome, where they used to appear in visions to their patients, who evidently practised incubation in some well-known building.

According to the third tradition, they were from Arabia. The Greek Church accordingly keeps for them three festivals, July 1, Oct. 17, and Nov. 1. The accounts vary as to whether they were martyrs or not. The Roman saints (July 1) appear to have provoked the jealousy of their teacher in medicine, who beguiled them into a mountain in search of herbs, and

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then stoned them to death. The Arabian saints (Oct. 17) used to travel from place to place and heal the sick freely, but in the year 292 they chanced to come to a city of Lycia along with three of their brethren, and the governor, whose name was *Lysias*[1], threw them first into the sea and then into a furnace. When these arts failed, he crucified them.

The saints who are celebrated on Nov. 1 are said to be from Asia, of noble and virtuous parentage, brought up to the healing art, which they practised freely on man and beast. They die in peace, and are buried in a place called Phereman, which no one appears to have succeeded in identifying. These three traditions always speak of the saints as Cosmas and Damian, and call them brothers; it is evident that a common tradition has bifurcated. The starting-point cannot be Constantinople. It must be some point further East, and a little examination of the legends shows that it is either Aegae in Cilicia, or some point further afield.

That they displaced Castor and Pollux is not what we should at first have expected, for in the legends of the saints they are especially recognized as doctors. One does not immediately associate Castor and Pollux with medicine, nor Cosmas and Damian with the works ascribed to the Twins. But the original Twins were skilled in medicine also, as well as in ships, &c.; while Cosmas and Damian would never have found their way into the Roman Forum unless they had been able to avenge perjury and punish breach of faith[2]. Moreover, we have from Constantinople direct evidence on the point in the story which we have already told of the wicked Greeks who incubated in the church of Cosmas and Damian on the hypothesis

[1] A common name for the Antichristian governor.

[2] There is, however, an alternative theory, so far as Rome is concerned, viz. that they came to Rome as twins simply to displace twins, so that, while at Constantinople they displaced Castor and Pollux, in Rome they followed Romulus and Remus. The evidence for this is an actual inscription in the church of S. Cosmas and S. Damian, according to which Urban the Eighth records how Felix the Fourth had turned a temple, "Geminis urbis conditoribus superstitiose dicatum," into a church, "SS. Cosmae et Damiano fratribus." See Trede, *Das Heidenthum in der römischen Kirche*, IV. 280. This makes the date of the arrival of Cosmas and Damian in Rome about 530 A.D. But is it not the temple of Romulus, the son of Maxentius, and not of Romulus and Remus?

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that it was the temple of Castor and Pollux, and were reproved by the saints for their impertinence.

But we can show in another way, and from an experience of our own, that they discharged other Dioscuric functions. In the year 1903 I visited the city of Egin on the upper Euphrates, one of the most beautiful cities in Asia Minor, and one of the worst devastated by the hideous massacres of the unspeakable Turk. On the return journey we took a raft, floated on goat-skins in the manner shown in the Babylonian monuments, with the object of coming down the Euphrates to Kebana Maden. The river just below Egin runs into a cañon, and the stream becomes a succession of rapids. The shooting of these rapids is one of the pleasures of the journey. Just before we passed into the cañon, I noticed a ruined building on a cliff, and asked what castle it was. The reply was, "It is no castle, it is the ruined church of S. Cosmas and S. Damian." It was evident that there had been a shrine of the saints towards which men prayed before shooting the rapids. The attitude of mind which leads to the establishment of such shrines is exactly expressed in what Mr im Thurn tells us of the Indians in British Guiana[1]. "He [the Indian] always sees a spirit in any instrument that does him harm. When he falls on a rock, he attributes the injury to it. If he sees anything in any way curious or abnormal, or if, soon after, an evil befall him, he regards the thing and the evil as cause and effect. Just as some rocks, viz., the more peculiar, are more malignant than others, so it is not every river, but *every bend and portion of a river* that has a spirit; *spirits of falls and rapids* are still more to be dreaded, therefore people are more frequently drowned there." And again he notes[2], "Before *shooting a cataract for the first time*, on the first sight of any new place, striking rocks, &c., the Guiana Indian arrests the ill-will of the spirits."

It is easy to see that something of the same kind must have gone on amongst the boatmen of the upper Euphrates. They must have formed the habit of averting the danger of the passage of the cañon by appeals in the first case to the spirits of the stream, in the second place to the great Twin Brethren,

[1] Im Thurn, *Indians of British Guiana*, pp. 370, 377, 379. [2] p. 380.

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and last of all to Cosmas and Damian, who take their place. We thus discover, not only that Cosmas and Damian were at home on the upper Euphrates, but that they were discharging there, what one would not at first have expected, the function of protecting those who travel by water, which is one of the chief duties of the Twin Brethren.

We have now proved the points which we set before us, that Cosmas and Damian are twins, that they displace the Heavenly Twins and discharge their functions.

So exact was the correspondence between them that the saints sometimes appeared, to those who incubated for healing in their church, in the form of men riding on horses, and with stars over their heads[1].

The cult of Cosmas and Damian has been shown to exist inland, as well as on the sea-coast at Aegae. And the question arises whether it has started from Aegae, or from some point further inland.

We may, perhaps, get a little light on the subject from one or two considerations. The cult at Aegae is easily explained: Aegae was a centre of the worship of Aesculapius, with whom and with whose methods Cosmas and Damian have so much in common, and I half suspect that it was a centre of the worship of the Twins, like so many other places in that corner of the Mediterranean. So the prominence of Aegae is explicable. But then there are other pairs of holy Anargyri besides Cosmas and Damian. A glance at a Greek calendar[2] will show traces of the worship of Cyrus and John, and an examination of their *Acta* shows the same features as those of Cosmas and Damian. Their proper home is in Egypt, where they appear in various places; but the most honoured shrine is near Alexandria, where Cyrus is still worshipped as Abu Kîr (the English know it as Aboukir), and gives his name to the sanctuary which appears to have been originally known as Menuthis. Clearly Cyrus and John are the Egyptian equivalents of Cosmas and Damian, and of what lies behind Cosmas and Damian.

[1] For this and many other interesting points see Dübner, *De Incubatione*, pp. 68—80.

[2] *e.g.* Jan. 31. Cyrus and John, the miracle-working anargyri.
June 28. The return of the relics of Cyrus and John, the holy anargyri.

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Now, when we examine the legends of Cyrus and John, we find that they are not of Egyptian origin. We are told[1] that John, indeed, belonged to Alexandria, but Cyrus was a soldier who had come from Edessa. As we may be sure the two saints travelled together[2] and were natural as well as spiritual brothers, we may assume that they came either from Edessa or from somewhere in that region. If the reference to Edessa is correct, then, bearing in mind the proof that has been given that the Edessan Church in its first period regarded Jesus and Thomas as twins, we might suggest that Cyrus and John was a substitute for ὁ Κύριος καὶ Θωμᾶς. If, however, we do not take Edessa, the birthplace of Cyrus, too literally, as meaning the actual city, but interpret it as meaning some place in the neighbourhood of that famous city, then we might think of the city Cyrrhus[3] as the point from which the cult of Cyrus and John emanated, and explain in that way the singular Cyrus, who is evidently the predominant partner. Or we may take Cyrus and John as real people, practising medicine on the lines of Aesculapius and the Twins, and simply say that they came from the north-east angle of the Mediterranean.

The probability seems to me to be against the reality of the

[1] See Dübner, *l. c.* p. 89.

[2] That they were brothers appears from two passages quoted by Dübner (*l. c.* p. 95) from Sophronius's account of the miracles of Cyrus and John. Κῦρος εὐθὺς ἀναφαίνεται Ἰωάννην σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπαγόμενος. Κῦρος ἦν ὁ θεσπέσιος Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀδελφὸν δεξιὸν ἐπαγόμενος. Since Sophronius is said to have written his account as a return for medical treatment which he had himself received, we might at first assume that tradition located Cyrus and John in Alexandria at the beginning of the seventh century. But this date would be too late, and would be a misunderstanding. Perhaps the saints appeared to him in a dream, while the good Sophronius was incubating. Their cult had enjoyed two hundred years' run, at the very least, before Sophronius began to write about them.

[3] This suggestion was first made to me by my friend Mr Sanders, of the American mission at Aintab, who thinks that the original sanctuary of Cosmas and Damian at Cyrrhus is now covered by a Moslem ziaret. For a confirmation of this we may refer to the miracles wrought by Cosmas and Damian as given in Wagnereck, *Syntagma Historicum de Sanctis Anargyris C. et D.*, p. 496, where a woman from Cyrrhus is healed and where it is expressly stated that the bodies of the saints lie at Cyrrhus: ἐκ τῶν Κυρεστηκῶν μερῶν τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ἔνθα τὰ τίμια λείψανα τῶν θαυμαστῶν τούτων ἁγίων καὶ θεραπόντων τοῦ Χριστοῦ Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ ἀπόκεινται.

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existence of Cyrus and John, for we are sure that Cosmas and Damian are a fiction, and Cyrus and John are only a feeble copy of them.

That Cosmas and Damian do not themselves come from Edessa, I regard as almost certain. The Twins in Edessa were displaced in another way. And although it can be shown that Cosmas and Damian secured a certain foothold in the city at an early date, it was only a *βῆμα ποδός*. They had a martyrium on the north-east of the city, of which I have not been able to find any traces remaining. And I suspect that their healing virtues were transferred from this martyrium to a mosque in the neighbourhood known as Hekim Dédé (the Physician Saint) where the Christian women still take their sick children for ablution in the fountain (or did, up to the time of the great massacres), which intimates the existence of an ancient sanctuary. It may be worth while to examine for traces of the shrine of Cosmas and Damian in the literature of the place.

The Chronicle of Edessa has an entry under 28th October, 457, in which we are told that upon the death of Mar Hibha, the Bishop of Edessa, Nonnos succeeded to his place, and that the said Nonnos built a chapel to John the Baptist and a leper house outside the Sun Gate: and that he also erected in the same neighbourhood a martyrium to Cosmas and Damian.

From this we may conclude that the worship of Cosmas and Damian was now introduced into Edessa for the first time; if this be correct, the period is too late to allow of the diffusion of the cult from Edessa as a centre[1]. It is more reasonable to suppose that it has reached the city late and from without. For this reason I am inclined to believe that the cult reached Edessa either from Aegae[2] or from some other centre between

[1] The saints were at home in Aleppo by the *beginning* of the fifth century, for Rabbula saw a blind man healed in their church. See Overbeck, *Life of Rabbula*, p. 170.

[2] Lucius, *Die Anfänge des Heiligenkultes*, pp. 259—261, tries hard to prove that C. and D. only displace Asklepios and *not the Twins*: and that, therefore, Aegae is the centre of diffusion. But this will not do, in view of the proof that we have given that C. and D. discharged other than medical functions, and that they are actually described as Twins. As to the case of Zenobius and Zenobia, who are brother and sister (? twins) and belong to Aegae, where Zenobius does miraculous healings, that does not prove anything against the

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Aegae and Edessa, such as Cyrrhus. The reference of the martyrologies to Cyrus, the Alexandrian Dioscure, as coming from Edessa may be due to a reminiscence of Cyrus, Bishop of Edessa, who came to the office in 489. That is as far as we can get with the evidence before us, and I allow that the conclusions are not as definite as one could wish. Perhaps we may obtain some fresh light on the matter from another quarter.

Meanwhile we may say that we have established the existence of the cult of the Twins and the reform of the cult in Asia Minor. Over and above the references which we have already given, there is the very interesting and important case of Polyeuctes, whom we have shown to be a mere substitute for Polydeuces[1] (*pace* Corneille and M. Aubé). So that we have the same tendency at work in Armenia, and apparently at an early date, for we learn from Gregory of Tours that the cult of Polyeuctes was great in Constantinople and in Paris in and before his day. I do not think that there is anything that I wish to add to what I have said elsewhere concerning Polyeuctes. He was honoured at Caesarea in Cappadocia as well as at Melitene[2]; but it seems probable that Melitene is the original home of the cult. In the year 1903 I visited Malatiya, *i.e.* the modern city which answers to the ancient Melitene, from which it is removed by a distance of some miles. A few notes may perhaps be useful on the results of the visit. The ancient Melitene is now known by the name of Eski Scheher, and is almost deserted. The walls of the ancient city are in a good degree of preservation, but inside them there was little

twinship of C. and D.: it looks like another attempt to get rid of the Dioscuri in Aegae. They must have been honoured along with Asklepios. And cf. Euseb. *Prep. Ev.* I. 10, p. 39, quoting Sanchoniathon: *οἱ ἐπτὰ παῖδες Συδὲκ Κάβειροι, καὶ ὁ ἴδιος αὐτῶν ἀδελφὸς Ἀσκληπιός.*

[1] See *Dioscuri*, p. 55.

[2] The old Syriac martyrology of A.D. 411 has three references to the worship of Polyeuctes, as follows:

Jan. 7. At Melitene. Polyeuctos.

Jan. 22. At Nicomedia. Polyeuctos.

May 20. Timotheus and Polyeuctos, the confessors.

This martyrology has been shown by Achelis to have for its chief source an ancient Arian martyrology of Nicomedia. Its early date justifies what we said above as to the antiquity and early diffusion of the cult of Polyeuctes.

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but planted fields, gardens of tobacco, &c. There were two or three old mosques, one of them very fine, which had undergone some restoration recently at the order of the Sultan. I could find in it no Greek inscriptions or Christian signs, though there were plenty of non-Moslem elements in the building. Upon enquiry from the natives, I succeeded in finding the ruins of the old Christian church. It has sunk a good deal below the level of the fields. At first sight it appeared to be Armenian, for there were Armenian inscriptions and crosses lying about; on entering the church itself, one found Byzantine slabs with Greek crosses and inscriptions, usually in the form

$$\overline{\text{IC}}\quad\overline{\text{XC}}$$
$$\text{NI}\quad\text{KA}$$

as we have it on Byzantine coins. Sometimes it was simply

$$\overline{\text{IC}}\quad\overline{\text{XC}}$$

as on a fine slab, with a cross and floral ornaments.

The altar stone was lying *in situ* close to the short stone pillar upon which it had formerly been supported. *Close to it stood an ancient pagan altar.* There was no inscription on it, but only a very simple carved device. The evidence was sufficient that the Armenian church had been formerly a Greek church, and the Greek church had been originally a pagan sanctuary. There was no trace, that I could find, of any occupation of the place by the Syrians, who were at one time very strong in Melitene. A pagan sanctuary, but of what deity or deities? Was it the church of the Twins, *i.e.* of S. Polyeuctes? I had no means of determining.

On returning to Malatiya, I consulted the Armenian priests on the matter, but got little information. One of them, however, knew the story of S. Bolioctos, as he called him, and proceeded to tell it to me. His suggestion was that the church of Polyeuctes was not to be looked for in Malatiya, *i.e.* in Eski Scheher, but in the monastery of Ordoos, where S. Thaddeus was buried. The value of which hint, to myself, lay in the fact that S. Thaddeus is a Dioscure, and in all probability the first substitute for S. Thomas. But it runs counter to the Armenian Acts of Polyeuctes which make Melitene the place of his martyrdom. In any case, the old Greek church in Melitene replaced a pagan sanctuary.

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CHAPTER XII.

That the Heavenly Twins were worshipped at Edessa, and were displaced there, in the first instance, by a cult of Jesus and Thomas.

THE most important matter that was opened up in *Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* was the proof that Edessa was a centre of the worship of the Heavenly Twins, and that when the city became Christian the Twins were displaced by Jesus and Judas Thomas, the latter of whom was assumed to be the twin brother of Jesus.

The starting-point of the investigation was the observation of a peculiar feature in the Syriac Acts of Judas Thomas, which persisted in speaking of Thomas as the twin of our Lord, and in making them perform actions which are the conventional deeds of the Dioscuri. The case was strengthened by an observation of the extent to which the scribes had tried to get rid of the statement that Judas was the twin of Jesus, by substituting for twin an almost equivalent word which means abyss, *Tehoma* for *Tauma*, by which correction they made nonsense of the text[1]. Even in the Greek translation of the Syriac Acts it was often possible to trace the original Syriac peculiarity.

From this point it was argued that the worship of the Twins must have been at home in Edessa, and the confirmations were abundant that they were honoured there as the Morning

[1] The Greek Synaxarists got out of the difficulty in a simpler way, by making the language metaphorical. Thus my Synaxarion for Oct. 6th comments upon our Lord's statement, "I am not Judas, but the brother of Judas," as follows: Ἐγὼ δὲν εἶμαι ὁ Θωμᾶς ἀλλ' εἶμαι ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Θωμᾶ κατὰ χάριν; and goes on to say that anyone who abandons all for Christ will become not only His brother but the co-heir of His kingdom.

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and Evening Star. The chief support came from the side of literature (as in the Orations of Julian), of archeology (from the parallel features of the worship of Mithra), and from the actual coinage of the Abgar dynasty (on which the stars of the great Brethren are constantly to be seen[1]). And it was further shown that the most striking monuments of Edessa are a pair of lofty columns, which were held to be votive columns in honour of the Dioscuri, and to contain an inscription to that effect.

Now, with regard to these points, for which reference must be made to *Dioscuri*, no serious exception has been taken, unless it be with regard to the decipherment of the inscription on the pillars, which Mr Burkitt inclined to think hazardous. Whatever was said with regard to the Dioscurism of the Acts of Thomas has been confirmed by the observation of fresh allusions beyond what I had recorded. But with regard to the inscription and its decipherment there has been natural hesitation, and I have now to go over the ground again and see what fresh light can be thrown upon it. I will transcribe a few sentences from *Dioscuri* to introduce the matter, premising that when I wrote on the subject first I was dependent upon the transcription and decipherment of Professor Sachau, *plus* a casual examination, and that since writing upon it I have had the opportunity of seeing the inscription again for myself, and that a photographic copy of it lies before me.

"Everyone who has visited Ourfa (Edessa), that city of saints, scholars and martyrs, will remember its most conspicuous feature, the two colossal pillars which rise skyward from the citadel, and which are admittedly known to the native population as the Throne of Nimrod. Of these twin pillars the more southerly is inscribed in archaic Syriac characters, near the middle of the column, with a statement that someone, whose name has not been deciphered, made this pillar and a statue for

[1] The primitive man does not know that the Morning and Evening Star are the same star; nor does the population of Asia Minor know it to this day. I made some enquiries, but never found a case to the contrary. In the same way, among the Maoris of New Zealand, the Morning and Evening Star are said to be the eyes of the *two* children of Maui. See Polack, *Manners and Customs*, I. 16.

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Queen Shalmath, the daughter of Ma'nu. The statues, for we should probably read the word in the plural, have disappeared though they might very likely be recovered by excavation round the base of the pillars on which they once stood."

The principal thing to correct in this statement relates to the position of the inscription, which was said to be half-way up the shaft of the column, and which Sachau says he tried to read with a telescope. As a matter of fact, the inscription is at no great height, not more than about 12 feet from the base of the column. The height of the successive courses of the masonry is about 19 inches. The inscription is on the 7th and 8th courses, *i.e.* between 11 feet and 12 feet 8 inches. The height of the drum of the column is 18 inches, and of the square base on which it stands 18 inches. The number of courses is 27, and if we allow three courses for the superimposed capital, we get a height of 47 feet 6 inches, which with the base makes close on 50 feet. So the inscription is certainly not half-way up the column. A large piece of the column has, with considerable skill, been cut out, and the triumphant "No God but God" has been written below the erasure. The successive courses of the column, where not cut away, are round like millstones. Where the stone has been cut away there must have been either something in the inscription or an objectionable carving which provoked the hostility of the Moslems.

It is difficult to make a photograph of the inscription, as the column is near the edge of the cliff on which the citadel stands; and the inscription looks over the cliff towards the city. According to Professor Sachau's reading, we were informed that someone had made the pillars and the statue (or statues) for Shalmath the queen, the daughter of Ma'nu.

At this point Sachau, whose copy read,

proposed to amend the reading to

and to translate it, "made this pillar and statue, the image of Shalmath." To this I took objection on the ground that the

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expression was pleonastic, and proposed to read instead, "the statue of the Figures for Shalmath," on the ground that the term was the old Edessan term for the Heavenly Twins. The exact spelling of the word in dispute I conjectured to be very near the Mandaean form ܐ ܠ ܬ ܒ ܐ for the name of the third sign of the Zodiac. We must now try to read the inscription from the photograph.

Before doing so I must draw attention to an important collateral discovery that has been made between my two visits to Ourfa (Edessa) in 1896 and in 1903. A mosaic was discovered in 1901, in the middle of the court of the Great Khan, outside the north gate of the city, which is evidently by the same hand as erected the column. It has been carried off to Constantinople, where it has been relaid by an Italian artist in the floor of the Museum[1]. I have a tolerable photograph of it[2]. The mosaic consists of six portraits, and Syriac names are attached to them. Besides this there is an inscription in Syriac by the artist or the person who employed him. According to my reading the names are:

1.	ܐ ܦ ܬ ܘ ܣ ܐ	Aphthusa.
	ܒ ܪ ܓ ܪ ܡ ܘ	Bar Garmu.
2.	ܓ ܪ ܡ ܘ	Garmu.
3.	ܫ ܡ ܫ ܘ	Shumu.
4.	ܐ ܣ ܐ	Asu.
5.	ܫ ܠ ܡ ܬ	Shalmath.
6.	ܒ ܬ ܠ ܗ	Bath Laha (?for Bath Alaha).

The portrait in No. 5 is the portrait of Shalmath, and is the lady described in the inscription on the pillar. Moreover, the name in No. 1, Aphthusa, is the missing name to be restored on the first line of the inscription on the column; as can easily be verified[3].

[1] The tomb, itself, has unhappily been filled in.

[2] A few letters are cut by the edge of the photograph: from a rapid examination of the mosaic at Constantinople, I think my transcript is correct.

[3] Sachau read ܐ.ܘ.ܫ ܠ ܡ ܬ or ܐ.ܐ ܫ ܠ ܡ ܬ

and conjectured ܐ ܦ ܬ ܘ ܣ ܐ.

His first reading was very nearly right, and only needed the addition of a single letter.

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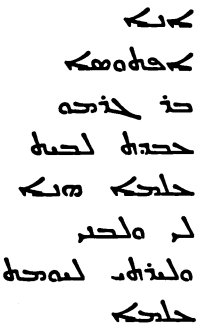
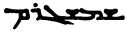
The long inscription on the mosaic reads:



i.e. "I, Aphthusa, the son of Garmu, have made this house of eternity for myself and for my children and for my heirs for ever."

The inscription can be compared with that on the shaft of the column, and the connexion between them will be evident. They begin in exactly the same way and have a similar motive. Someone has made something for somebody. The handwritings seem at first sight to belong to different periods, but that is due to the material. It is not easy to write Syriac in mosaic.

Here, then, we have the unexpected good fortune of actually finding the people spoken of in the inscription. Shalmath is here, and her portrait; and Aphthusa is here, and his picture also; his father too, and perhaps his mother and wife. The names betray, what we might have expected from the Abgar Ma'nu dynasty, that they are not pure Syrian. Such names as Garmu, Asu, Shumu[1] are not easily paralleled amongst the Syriac population. It is, however, highly probable that investigation might bring traces of them to light. For example, a few miles out of Ourfa there is a beautiful village, named Garmousch, which I visited in order to see a splendid copy of the Armenian Gospels in the church. This must have been a Syriac village in the old days, and I suspect that its name is made up out of the Garmu of our inscription. Probably the same name is involved in  (= Σαμψιγέραμος) which

[1] The nearest form I can get to this is Bar Shuma in Sachau's eighth inscription from Edessa.

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occurs in the Edessene literature and inscriptions. I notice that in *Addai*, p. 31, we have among the princes of Abgar, "Abdu and *Garmai*, and *Shamsgram*, and Abubai and Maherdath." Here *Garmai*, or *Garmi*, must be the same as our *Garmu*. We get the same name in Beth-Garmai, the place from which came Simeon, who translated Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*. The actual name Garmu is found amongst the Sinaitic inscriptions, and in composition as well as in the simple form. For instance, we have *Garm-Alaha*, which appears in a Latin inscription as *Garmalla* (see Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Insch.* p. 252). I do not know what this curious compound can mean. It looks as if *Garmu* were originally the name of a deity, but perhaps the literal translation *bone* or *member of God* may be justifiable. Bar Garmu would still have to be explained.

Of the other names, Bathlaha is the most striking; *daughter of God* is a strong assertion of celestial kinship; but it has its parallel amongst the Syrian names of later date, where we find Barlaha as a proper name[1]. It is possible to find Assyrian parallels to some of these names, but on the whole their affinities appear to be with Nabatean and Palmyrene. But however this may be, we have discovered a family sepulchre of the royal family, or one of the leading families at Edessa. They call it, in Hebrew style, their House of Eternity[2]. And the future life, if I have deciphered rightly, they call the Days of Eternity.

Now let us return to the column and transcribe the inscription by the aid of the photograph. A glance shows why a part of the inscription was illegible. A portion of the stone has been cut away, so that we have not only a large piece

[1] It occurs on an inscription from Salona in Dalmatia as the name of a Syrian priest of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus: see *Ephem. Epig.* 2. 529.

[2] The same term in another inscription copied by Sachau from a cave to the west of the castle, which is dated in the year 805 [=494 A.D.], runs as follows: "In the month the former Teshrin of the year 805 was completed *The House of Eternity* in the days of Mar Elias the Abbot and Mar Abraham the Deacon and Mar John the Deacon and the rest. Praise be to our Reviver. Amen." Sachau notes that the same term is found in the Palmyrene inscriptions.

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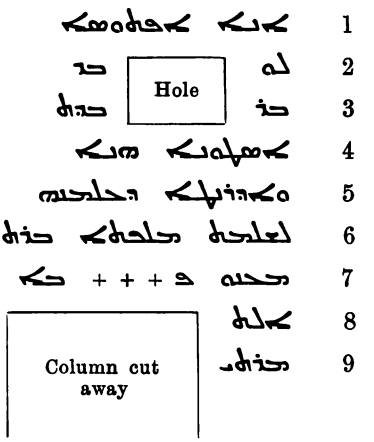
sliced off the column, but also a number of sunk holes, where some apparatus appears to have been suspended.



There are no diacritic points to distinguish ܪ from ܕ: but in most cases we can tell easily what to read. In the third line we must certainly complete ܥܒܕ, "I have made"; perhaps the complete line may be read ܕ ܒܝܬܗ ܥܒܕ. The fifth line shows no sign whatever of the conjectural reading ܠܥܠܡ which Sachau proposed, and which I followed with an explanation. It seems that the reading is ܠܠܡ or, perhaps, ܠܠܝܡ, the second letter might conceivably be ܝ, but as it reaches the top of the stone, I conclude it is meant to be ܠ. The attempt to read the inscription as ܠܠܝܡ (= the Figures) must be abandoned. But what does it mean as it now stands? The explanation lies in the following direction. There is no need to resort to conjectural emendation nor to alter the reading of the stone; the word is the Syriac ܥܠܡܐ = *young man*, which is the Hebrew עלם and apparently the Assyrian *Alam*. It is therefore something to do with "the youths," and in all probability a dual formation. The dual has disappeared from the Syriac, but if the form were similar to the Arabic dual, it would be ܥܠܡܝܢ, which is very near to what we have on the monument. The inscription says straight out that it was "the statue of the [two] youths." The problem is, therefore, solved, and only needs a little illustration. The

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main point that requires elucidation is the use of the word *'Alim* for a Dioscure. We expected, as was stated in *Dioscuri*, that the Syriac equivalent for the Twins would be *Ṣalmē*, or something similar. It is, therefore, interesting to note that from very early times the Dioscuri had been understood by this title *'Alim*. Prof. Zimmern, writing in Schrader's *Keilinschriften u. Alte Testament* (ed. iii. p. 363), discusses a curious duality in the old Babylonian description of the moon; the waxing and the waning moon appear to have been identified with Sin and Nergal, and the duality was expressed by calling them the Great Twins, which again, by another identification, became the Zodiacal sign. So Zimmern puts the case, and it might be thought that the transformations needed a little more explanation. This, however, does not concern us here. What does concern us is that Zimmern shows, from the cuneiform inscriptions, that these two aspects of the lunar phenomena were expressed by calling the moon-god *Ellamê, i.e.* the Twins. And then Zimmern adds the following pertinent note: "The word *Ellamê* (*Illamê*) belongs perhaps to עלם (young man), so that *Ellamê* as a dual would mean 'the two young men,' *i.e.* the Dioscuri." In the same way he explains two other transformations of the Babylonian Nergal[1], where he bears the names of *Almu* and *Alamu*, *i.e.* the young man and the young woman. It was interesting to find that Zimmern had come so close to the explanation which we had ourselves arrived at, that the *'Alimē* are the Dioscuri.

With this we may perhaps leave the inscription, though there is room for further study of its incomplete portions.

We need not hesitate to say that the proof that Dioscurism was a part of the State religion at Edessa is reasonably complete, and does not need any further defence.

[1] As I have said, it is not easy to follow Zimmern in his study of the transformations of the Babylonian Nergal; but it leads him to one very pretty Biblical emendation in Cant. 6^{10}, "fair as the sun, clear as the moon, terrible as the Dioscuri," reading נרגלות for נדגלות.

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CHAPTER XIII.

That the Edessan displacement of the Heavenly Twins can be paralleled in Western documents and traditions.

HOWEVER startling the Edessan displacement of the Heavenly Twins may seem to us, it will not be possible to limit the statement that Jesus and Thomas were twins to Edessa. It occurs elsewhere, and we can hardly draw any conclusions as to its meaning until we have first taken pains to collect all the facts. And one of the facts to be pondered is that the same feature occurs in Western documents and traditions. It is possible that such documents and traditions may find their parentage in Edessa, and that the Edessan beliefs may find their explanation in the Ebionite character of the primitive Edessan Church: but we must first examine how far the beliefs spread, and in what form they occurred. We may perhaps open the matter in the following way.

Some time since, I think it was in the autumn of 1901, my friend W. C. Braithwaite was showing me a vellum leaf of an old book, which he had purchased from a London bookseller. On looking at it I was surprised to find that it contained a peculiar form of the legends for S. Thomas's Day, the opening sentences of which ran as follows:

"In festo sancti thome lectio prima. Thomas discipulus $\overset{i}{\text{X}}$ didimus nominatur et iuxta latinam linguam xp̄i geminus ac similis saluatori. audiendo incredulus, uidendo fidelis fuit."

The account goes on to describe the mission of S. Thomas to the Parthians and the Indians. But what is strange is that S. Thomas is explained in Latin as *Christi geminus, Christ's twin.* This cannot be a transcriber's mistake, for the explanation continues with *ac similis saluatori*, that is, he was the

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double of the Saviour; and it follows from this that the "*Christi*" in the first line belongs not to "*discipulus*" but to the following "*didymus*," the expression "*Christi didimus*" being translated into "*Christi geminus.*" From which it is easy to infer that "*discipulus*" has been added to relieve the difficulty, a well-meant correction, but one which does not go far enough; or if we leave "*discipulus*" in the text, we must edit a comma after it. Here then we have the Edessan belief stated almost in the words of the *Acta Thomae.* We may now pass on to the *lectio secunda,* which opens as follows:

"Hic est thomas qui interpretatur abyssus uel geminus; quod grece dicitur didymus; quae utraque interpretatio bene congruit statui eius. Didimus enim recte uocatur, propter dubium cor in fide resurrectionis dominicae. Abyssus quoque dici potuit, cum altitudinem dominicae uirtutis resurrectione celebrata fide certa penetrauit, &c."

Here the lesson introduces the text of S. Thomas' name; he is called Thomas, which means "abyss" or "twin." It is the common explanation of the *Onomastica* and of mediaeval writers[1]. But it will be noticed that the writer evades the natural meaning of twin and proceeds to allegorize: his explanation is, he was called "twin" because he was of two minds about the resurrection. Evidently, when a man runs into allegory over a simple statement like this he has something to run away from. He then proceeds to allegorize the abyss, which was natural enough. It will be remembered that the substitution of abyss for twin was one of the tricks of the transcribers of the Acts of Thomas. However, when one has secured one's abyss, it is natural that one should make a mystical interpretation.

This leaf then contains matter for thought; it shows that the *Legenda Sanctorum* contained in the West until quite a late date the statement that Thomas was called "Twin" because he was the twin brother of Jesus. We must try and

[1] Thus Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.* (ed. le Prevost), says (I. 306): "Thomas abyssus et Didymus interpretatur geminus, quia Saluatori similis est, redimitus multimodis uirtutum charismatibus." The language shows that the writer understood by *geminus* the twin of the Lord; for he explains that he was very like the Saviour.

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find out some more about the history of this curious tradition. The leaf contains at the beginning legenda for S. Lucy's Day: her celebration belongs to Dec. 13, and S. Thomas to the 21st. So that it is a leaf out of the Aurea Legenda, or perhaps out of a Breviary.

The matter which we have quoted turns up in the Breviary, and strange to say with the same peculiarities. For example, in an Italian breviary, belonging also to my friend Braithwaite, and dating from the fourteenth century, we have the Thomas lections in the following form, which may be compared with what we have given above.

"Thomas hebraice, latine abyssus uel geminus interpretatur et graece didimus nominatur quia utraque interpretatio eius statui congruit. Didimus recte uocari potuit, propter dubium cor in credendo effectum dominicae resurrectionis; abyssus, quia altitudinem dominicae uirtutis in resurrectione certa fide penetrauit, et iuxta linguam Latinam, *Christi geminus similis saluatoris*, audiendo incredulus uidendo fidelis."

Here we have the same statement made as to the twinship of Thomas and his likeness to the Lord. And the evidence can be multiplied. Down to the fourteenth century we find the belief in circulation. The observation is a very striking one. For certainly no such belief can have been invented in the middle ages, and as we have found it existing in the first ages of the Eastern Church there must be a continuous line of documents or of traditions bringing the belief in question down from the earliest times almost to our own day. And we can take some steps into the earlier period in which the statements of the Breviary and the *Legenda Sanctorum* were current. If, for example, we turn to the works of Isidore of Seville, in the beginning of the seventh century, we shall find a treatise called *De ortu et obitu patrum*. The history of S. Thomas will be found amongst the rest of the worthies whom Isidore chronicles, and in the following form[1]:

"Thomas apostolus Christi, didymus nominatus, et iuxta Latinam linguam Christi geminus, ac similis Saluatori, audiendo incredulus, uidendo fidelis. Hic Euangelium praedicauit Parthis et Medis, et Persis, Hyrcanisque et Bactrianis, et Indis tenentibus orientalem plagam, et intima

[1] Isidor. Hisp. *l. c.* 184.

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gentium penetrans, ibique praedicationem suam usque ad titulum suae passionis perducens: lanciis enim transfixus occubuit in Calamina ciuitate Indiae, ubi et sepultus est in honore."

Here, then, we have the origin of the *lectio prima* from which we started our enquiries, with the variation of *apostolus* for *discipulus*, and we must, as before, alter the punctuation, putting the comma before *Christi* and not after it. Probably we should also remove *apostolus*. The burden is now removed, to some extent, from the Breviary and *Legenda Sanctorum* and laid on the back of S. Isidore. But where did Isidore get the statement that Thomas was *Christi geminus*?

Will all the traditions go back to Edessa, or shall we be obliged to admit that they occur independently in different parts of the Church? It is clear that we have a very important enquiry before us, and one which is far-reaching, beyond the scope of the present book. We may say, however, that if the tradition is entirely Edessan, it probably came into the West through diffusion of the Thomas legends in the form of a translation. I do not mean that there are no other transfers of literature and tradition, but that the Acts of Thomas are the most popular and wide-spread contribution which the Syrians of the East made to the legends of the West.

Nor do I mean that there are no other traces in the Syrian Church of the twinship of Jesus and Judas Thomas. There is more to be deduced from the documents of Edessa, which points to the same conclusion. But these features will probably not be found outside of Mesopotamia.

The explanations that Thomas = *abyssus* = *geminus Christi* must have been thoroughly diffused in the early Syrian Church. I will show this for the equation of Thomas with *abyssus* by a curious reference in Ephrem's commentary on the Diatessaron[1].

Ephrem is discussing the Betrayal by Judas, and he says,

"Venit iniquus Judas, ut magnam suam abyssum consummaret, quod Dominus mite modo declarauit, ostendens, se esse bonum et fonten misericordiae, dicens, Judas, num osculando, &c."

Here Judas, who fills up the *abyss* of sins, is Judas *Thomas*, and Ephrem has made a mistake something like the one of which

[1] Ed. Mösinger, p. 235.

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he so often is guilty, where he confuses Mary Magdalene with the Blessed Virgin. Judas is Judas Thomas, who is Judas the abyss, and so he fills up the abyss of his sins. The explanation of the name of Thomas must have been a commonplace in Edessa. We knew already that Thomas to the Syrians was Judas Thomas; that explanation is in the Syrian New Testament as well as in the Apocryphal Acts. It is now further demonstrated that Judas Abyssus was also known in early Syriac. We should therefore have little difficulty in maintaining an Edessan origin for the whole of the equation Thomas = *geminus* = *abyssus*.

In the same way the statement made in the Latin legends that Thomas was *similis saluatori* can be explained at once by a number of passages in the *Acta Thomae*, such as "Why art thou like to God thy Lord?" "Thou art as like to Him as if born of Him," and indeed the whole of the dramatic action of the story turns on the assumed likeness between Jesus and Thomas.

It is not generally known that there are other Apostles suggested by traditions as twins or even as twins of Jesus, and apparently with the same object of explaining the meaning of Thomas in the apostolic lists: thus we have something very like a case of Jacobus Thomas to set over against the Syriac Judas Thomas. In the apocryphal correspondence between Ignatius and S. John, the former expresses a wish to pay the latter a visit at Jerusalem, where he hopes also to have the opportunity of seeing S. James the Just, of whom he hears the report that he is in every respect as like to Jesus as if he had been his twin brother:

"Similiter et illum uenerabilem Jacobum qui cognominatur Justus; quem referunt Christo Jesu simillimum uita et modo conuersationis, *ac si eiusdem uteri frater esset gemellus.*"

And that he really means to describe S. James as the twin of Jesus, appears from his further remark, that "when I see him, they tell me that I shall see the very corporeal aspect of Jesus Himself."

"Quem, dicunt, si uidero, uideo ipsum Jesum secundum omnia corporis eius lineamenta."

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Clearly someone, not necessarily the author of the apocryphal letter, but at all events someone not very remote from him, has had a belief in a Jacobus Thomas on the same line as the Edessans had in Judas Thomas. Shall we say that he introduced the belief in order to get rid of Judas Thomas? The objection is at once made that from the standpoint of orthodoxy nothing is gained by the substitution. It would be easier to say that there were more attempts than one to explain Thomas and to find his companion. In each of the two cases before us Thomas is assumed to be the twin of Jesus, but a different choice is made in the two cases as to which of the brethren of the Lord is involved. It is not easy to refer the belief in Jacobus Thomas to Edessa. Yet the writer of the Ignatian Apocryphon plays on the likeness of Jesus and James, much in the same way as the writer of the Acts of Thomas does with Jesus and Judas.

This part of the apocryphal Ignatian correspondence is very late and deserves no serious attention except for this one point, that it shows the persistence of the attempts at the explanation of the twin, whether in Edessa or elsewhere. Nor are these, by any means, the only traces of the matter in tradition and in folk-lore. The question of the limitation of the belief that our Lord had a twin brother to the Church of Edessa and to traditions derived from thence becomes more difficult as the tradition itself becomes more diversified and wide-spread. And it will probably be best to reserve the subject for a more detailed treatment in another volume.

The Edessan belief in the twinship of Jesus and Judas Thomas must, in any case, belong to the earliest period of Christianity in that city. It must, for example, be earlier than the period from which there has come to us the Doctrine of Addai, at least in its present form. It seems to imply that Thomas is the Apostle of Edessa and not Addai, and, if so, then it will follow that the original form of the Abgar legend in which Christ promises to send one of His disciples to Abgar, after His Ascension, relates to the sending of Thomas. We, therefore, are suspicious that the original form of the message was, "I am going up to my Father, who sent me, and when I

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have gone up to Him, I will send to thee *one of my brethren*, who will cure the disease which thou hast and restore thee to health." This suspicion was provoked in the first instance by finding that Jacob of Serug, in his Homily on Abgar, makes the quotation in one place in this form. The Homily is entitled,

On the Apostle Addai and King Abgar,

and is quoted as follows by Assemani in *Bibl. Orient.* I. p. 318: "after the ever blessed bridegroom was exalted to Heaven, He resolved, as He had promised, to send, out of love, someone to Abgar, and he chose for that purpose [Addai], one of His brethren:

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܐܚܘܗܝ ܕܝ ܒܚܪ ܒܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ."

Here, Addai is called "one of the brethren of Jesus," which is certainly a striking form of description, especially since Addai has already been described as an Apostle. I first came across the reference in Michaelis (ed. Marsh, IV. 369). Michaelis begins by saying that "Jacob, Bishop of Serug, who was born in the year 452, describes Adaeus as brother of Christ." He goes on to discuss the probability that Addai may be a real Apostle and equivalent to Judas *Thaddeus* the Lord's brother.

The manuscript from which Assemani was quoting is Codex Nitriensis, v. fol. 268. There is no need to transcribe the text of the extract more fully: Jacob of Serug appears in the rest of the passage to imply nothing beyond the ordinary Syrian tradition that Jesus promised to send one of His disciples to Abgar (as the Doctrine of Addai also describes the message), and fulfilled the promise by sending Addai. The question whether the substitution of the word "brethren" for "disciples" in a single clause of the Homily is a survival from an earlier form of the story, seems to us one that cannot be solved without further evidence from other quarters. Even Jacob of Serug ought to be allowed to make an occasional slip or to use sometimes an unfortunate expression, *unless it should turn out that the same suspicion to which we have drawn attention should recur from other quarters: and then his curious language would become significant.*

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CHAPTER XIV.

That there is a suspicion that Thomas was also in Dioscuric honour at Antioch.

It was pointed out in *Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* that Antioch was one of the centres where the Dioscuri were honoured, and that Tiberius had set up, outside the temple of Dionysos, two columns in honour of the Theban Twins, Amphion and Zethus. And it need not be supposed that this was the first occasion of the worship of the Twins at Antioch. We could point out that it was a common worship at that corner of the Mediterranean. It was extant in Seleucia, the seaport of Antioch, at Aegae, just across the bay, and I suspect at Rhossus, just below Seleucia. And there is no reason to suppose that the cult was unknown in such a great city as Antioch. Moreover, we have some statements from John Malalas, to whom we owe the previous statement about the columns set up by Tiberius in honour of Amphion and Zethus, which suggest that the worship was extant also in the days of Seleucus. For we are told that Seleucus was so grateful to the high-priest *Amphion* for his favourable auguries that he erected a pillar in his honour. Notice the recurrence of the name Amphion in connexion with the pillar. Either this means that there has been a misunderstanding over a pillar erected to one of the Dioscuri, or the high-priest, as often happens, bore the name of the deity upon whom he attended. In either case the existence of the cult is involved, unless we choose to say that both the coincidence in the name and in the erection of a votive pillar is an accident, which I should be slow to believe. It is more likely that it is really a votive pillar, with an inscription to Amphion the Dioscure, the immortal one of the Theban pair. Moreover we have the

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evidence of Seleucid coins for the worship of the Dioscuri at Antioch[1]. Assuming, then, that the Dioscuri were worshipped in Antioch, we have to find out what became of them when Antioch became a nominally Christian city. Did they turn into saints or into martyrs?

A reference to *Dioscuri*, pp. 48, 49, will show that my suspicions had been aroused by the peculiarly celestial and sidereal language employed by S. Chrysostom (or occurring in a sermon attributed to him), from which I inferred that "Chrysostom had some knowledge of the previous ecclesiastical history of the saint whom he was celebrating." This would not necessarily mean that Thomas was a Dioscure at Antioch; it need not be Chrysostom's sermon, though it appears to be sufficiently attested, and even if it were, he might have known that Thomas had sidereal functions in other places than Antioch, and might have discoursed on them elsewhere. But the language employed is so suggestive, that it opens up a train of thought on the very line which we just now were discussing, and sets us asking, quite apart from Chrysostom, what became of the Antioch Dioscuri? Did they leave no offspring, and was their cult torn up altogether by the root? It is not usually the case in the great cities or centres of the ancient world. It was not so in Rome nor in Milan nor in Constantinople, nor in Paris nor in Alexandria.

Let us for a moment fix our attention on the opening words of the panegyric of S. Thomas. The preacher asks how he shall introduce the subject. "Shall I preach Thomas as living? But the tomb proclaims him dead! Shall I discourse of him as dead? The facts are against me! The fact is, he is both living and dead, both mortal and immortal; man-like he died, but like an angel he courses through the world. He is 'down' in his lying and 'up' in his gladness[2]. No place could hide him away; he is the illumination of the whole world. He rests in a tomb and rises like the sun." The tomb was clearly close at hand.

[1] As on the coins of Seleucus II. (B.C. 240—226): see Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. gr.* p. 427.

[2] καὶ κάτω κεῖται καὶ ἄνω εὐφραίνεται.

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Then follow the sentences quoted in *Dioscuri*, where the preacher dips into the nineteenth Psalm and asks if he shall compare Thomas to a sun or a star.

The language is certainly Dioscuric; and we are again led to ask whether there is any evidence that Thomas was held in especial honour at Antioch.

The Panegyric Orations of Chrysostom follow the order of the Calendar, and were, I suppose, delivered in that order and at Antioch. The catalogue of them in the fifth volume of Savile's *Chrysostom* runs as follows:

Sept. 4 (Antioch).	In sanctum martyrem Babylam oratio prima.
	In beatum Babylam oratio secunda: et contra Julianum et gentiles.
Oct. 4 (?)	In sanctas martyres, Bernicem et Prosdocen uirgines, et matrem ipsarum Domninam.
Oct. 6.	In S. Thomam Apostolum et contra Arrianos: et in eum qui in Thracia tyrannidem arripuit et caesus est, cum et ipse esset Arrianus.
Oct. 8 (Antioch).	In sanctam Pelagiam martyrem.
Nov. 18 (Antioch).	In sanctum martyrem Romanum.
Nov. 19 (Antioch).	In s. mart. Barlaam.
Dec. 20 (Antioch).	In S. Ignatium archiepiscopum Antiochiae Magnae, Romam abreptum et ibi martyrio affectum; indeque rursus Antiochiam delatum.
Dec. 20 (Antioch).	In S. Philogonium ex aduocato factum episcopum, &c.
	&c., &c.

On looking at this table we can see that Chrysostom is following an Antioch Calendar, and celebrating the saints who were martyred in Antioch or the immediate vicinity; six out of the eight festivals were Antioch commemorations. The case of the martyred girls and their mother on Oct. 4 is not quite clear. They fled to Edessa (which Chrysostom describes as a rustic but religious place) to preserve their chastity. Being pursued, they flee to Hierapolis and drown themselves in the Euphrates. I suspect that they are an Antioch family.

The only remaining case on our list is S. Thomas; and it is fair to conclude that it was one of the great festivals in the Antioch Calendar; if so, it may have been brought there from

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Edessa, or conversely. So much is clear from the fact that Chrysostom selects him for panegyric along with Babylas, Ignatius and the rest.

We have now established the early cult of S. Thomas at Antioch, and we have suspected that Chrysostom knew of an earlier form of the cult than the one actually practised in his day.

And now we are going to make some hazardous conjectures, which, if they do not commend themselves to critical judgment, may be left on the high-piled heap of hypotheses which have to be rejected on account of their too great rapidity and insufficient sense of proportion.

If the reader will turn to the ecclesiastical history of Evagrius Scholasticus, he will find two successive sections describing two Antioch saints, named respectively Symeon the Silly (*σαλός*) and Thomas the monk, who also pretended to be Silly (*Θωμᾶς μοναχὸς καὶ αὐτὸς προσποιητὸς Σαλός*).

The word used is a striking one; it is not classical Greek, and at first sight one hardly knows what it means. And the sense of surprise is increased on finding the successive mention of two Antioch saints under this title. Evagrius has not much to say of the freaks of S. Symeon (he was always pretending to be immoral and really wasn't); and his information about S. Thomas is even less to the purpose, as well as more scanty. All that he knows is that Thomas came to Antioch from Coele-Syria, founded a monastery for which the Church at Antioch made an allowance, and quarrelled with the Church steward, who struck him on the face. This is the last time, said Thomas, for either of us that such a thing shall happen: whereupon they both promptly died; and when they were dead it was found out that Thomas was a saint. And then comes the important statement that his festival is still kept up with great magnificence at Antioch (*οὗ καὶ τὴν ἐτήσιον ἑορτὴν μέχρις ἡμῶν παῖδες Ἀντιοχέων μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἄγουσιν*).

We may accept the evidence of Evagrius as to the existence and splendour of the festival; but who believes the festival to be that of an idiotic monk? And if it is a festival kept by children, that only means that it is the religion of their fore-

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fathers. Clearly we must find some more about the mad monk and about the companion idiot with whom Evagrius associates him. Who is the monk Thomas ὁ Σαλός?

The answer is that he is

Thomas Salus Antiochiae,

and his name has been misunderstood and a legend made out of it.

Symeon the Silly is also a guardian or genius of Antioch. And now let us see whether we can identify the saints and confirm the hypothesis. The city of Antioch was founded, as Malalas tells us, upon a human sacrifice, which was repeated or commemorated annually; and the virgin who was immolated at the building of the city became, as in all such cases, the Life and the Protection of the city. We have a similar state of things in the neighbouring city of Laodicea, where the human sacrifice was replaced by the annual offering of a stag. The day of this sacrifice at Antioch is the birthday of the city; and we know the date, it was the 21st of May (Artemisius). This festival will certainly have a successor in the Christian Calendar of Antioch. Let us, then, look for it.

On the 24th of May we find the festival of Symeon Stylites Junior, who lived on a pillar outside Antioch, and who was constantly engaged in an aerial ministry to the people of Antioch and their needs. His life is extant in Greek, and written with great diffuseness for those who wish to follow his stereotyped fortunes and mechanical miracles. He held a great place in the affections of the Antiochenes, and I have no doubt that when he died in 596 he was regarded as one of the great patron saints of the city. That is, he was at all events a candidate for the title of *Salus Antiochiae*. With him the hagiologists record the story of his mother, and they tell us that when she came to die she desired to be buried in the sepulchre at Daphne where the blessed Thomas had been laid. And it is generally agreed that this is the Thomas whom Evagrius mentions after his Symeon the Stupid. It follows, then, that Antioch at one time possessed a S. Thomas with a tomb and a famous festival, and that he was regarded as the Genius of the city; and that at some time near the end of the sixth century

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S. Symeon Stylites Junior got his place and his honour, after which Thomas was forgotten except that a certain cult of him was still extant among the junior Antiochenes in the time of Evagrius. Thus Thomas succeeds the Virgin Genius of Antioch, and is himself succeeded by the Stylite. Now what Thomas is this? Can it be any other than the great Apostle? And if so, does not his festival begin to show parallel features with the worship at Edessa? His festival at Antioch in Chrysostom's time was on October the 6th. This is the regular *Greek* date. But since the birthday of the city is May 21st and the celebration of Symeon on May 24th, there must have been another Thomas festival somewhere about that time. Now the Sun enters Gemini on May 21st[1]. We suspect, then, that S. Thomas was both the Genius of the city and a Dioscure. And it need not seem strange that Thomas should discharge, in this way, a double function. This is not at all an uncommon thing, as Leucius points out, when cults are displaced by festivals of the saints. In Seleucia S. Thekla displaces Athena and Sarpedon; at Aegae we have shown reason to think that Cosmas and Damian succeed to Asklepios and the Heavenly Twins; S. Demetrius of Thessalonica occupies the place, apparently, both of Demeter and the Kabiri, and so on. It must be admitted that the hypothesis of a special cult of S. Thomas at Antioch is beset with difficulties. Antioch is a Greek city, and the question may be asked whether a patron saint or presiding Genius of the city would be likely to be called *Salus* in Latin instead of Τύχη or Σωτήρ in Greek? Then there is the further difficulty about the assumed tomb of Thomas at Daphne. Is it likely that such a belief could have existed without having left a strong mark on tradition?

[1] How sacred this day became in the mediaeval Church may be seen from a rule of King Réné in 1474, quoted by Ducange, *s. v. Gemini*, in which certain masses are ordered to be said, "*et les vigiles solemnelles des trépassez, le jour devant Gemini à vespres.* Id est vicesima dies Maii, nam sequenti sol Geminos intrat." Sometimes the Twins are actually called S. Gemini.

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CHAPTER XV.

That S. Ambrose became a Dioscure.

In a previous chapter we defended the position that S. Ambrose was the creator of the Milanese saints, Protase and Gervase, whom he evolved out of the locally-worshipped Dioscuri, and with whose aid he wrought wondrous miracles to the great discomfiture of the Arians. We have now to show how he was mastered by his own creations and annexed to their company; for, after his death, Ambrose himself discharged Dioscuric functions, as we shall now proceed to explain.

It was natural that Protasius and Gervasius should become the protectors of the city of Milan, just as, for example, Donatian and Rogatian protected the city of Nantes. And that they undertook this part may be seen from an inscription which is said to have been found in the place of their martyrdom (? the Church of S. Protase by the Oak), according to which we are informed that:

"...D. Joseph Vasques de Acunha, huius arcis praefectus, hanc columnam et subjectum ipsi lapidem, in quo S. Martyr Protasius, *huius civitatis et arcis defensor*, securi percussus creditur."

Here we are told the tradition of the place and manner of death of S. Protase, and the subsequent duties which devolved upon him.

But, strange to say, we find in the middle ages that Protase and Gervase neglected their duties, and S. Ambrose took them over. It comes from Ambrose having grouped the Twins on either side of him, as Caligula did when he set up his image between them as Jupiter Latiaris. The thunderbolts grew to Ambrose's hands. The hymn-writers depicted him so:

"Tu verbi vibrans jaculum
Ut fulmen sternis Arrium."

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And so it came to pass, on a certain occasion, when Milan was threatened by a German army, and the Milanese were, apparently, getting the worst of it, S. Ambrose took the field, clothed in white and riding on a white horse, with a whip in his hand, and turned back the invading hosts. God had sent him to restrain the madness of the invaders, for as the Chronicler says:

"Deus, tantorum malorum refrenator existens, misit beatum Ambrosium, qui in albis cum scutica in manu visibiliter hostes victoria potitos percussit, ex quo perdiderunt vires et superati sunt."

Such was the story which was told of the fight at Parabiago in 1339, and it will be conceded at once that it is a Dioscurophany. Elsewhere he is described as "albo insidens equo," and "coriaceo minax flagello." These manifestations ought to have been made by Protase and Gervase, but they had retired into the background, and their traditions belonged to S. Ambrose.

And indeed he had begun to discharge these military duties quite early. Paulinus tells us of two occasions where he took the field; one was in the case of the Florentines, another when he promised victory to Mascezel. Commonly on these occasions it thundered amazingly. On one occasion he appeared with a drawn sword, and with a terrible gaze menaced the emperor, who was besieging the city. It is curious that in sacred art the sword is the symbol of Protase and the scourge of Gervase. Did Ambrose borrow these tokens? In the case of the whip, we may say "Yes"; it was Gervase's whip, and went along with the white horse. There can be no doubt about S. Ambrose really having used the whip, for it was preserved at Milan, wrapped in silk, and the faithful used to be permitted to touch it and kiss it. At certain times it was carried through the streets in a procession. I suppose that when Protase is represented with a sword and Gervase with a scourge, the artists are drawing upon the legends of their death which are found in the Ps.-Ambrosian letter to the bishops of Italy. But the legend that Gervase had been scourged to death would not suffice to transfer the whip to S. Ambrose; the scourge had an earlier history, and was the sign that Gervase was a charioteer; then, in later days, it indicated the mode of his

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death, while on another line of development of tradition, it became S. Ambrose's riding-whip[1].

We have shown briefly that S. Ambrose appeared on suitable occasions as a Dioscure, and discharged Dioscuric functions. This does not convict him of any fraud or fiction, for the appearances are posthumous, but it is one more proof, if proof were needed, of the diffusion of the Dioscuric beliefs in the Milanese quarter. Everything tends to confirm our first judgment as to the real inwardness of the discovery of the two martyrs.

Before leaving this point, we may ask the plain question whether, in spite of the contentions to the contrary, S. Ambrose does not himself definitely say that Protase and Gervase were brethren. I mean that, without interpreting his language about the martyrs being the stars of a beautiful night, and so on, we can appeal to statements which may be his own, and if so, would decide the point finally.

For example, it is known that the Ambrosian Breviary has some hymns from Ambrose's own hand, and amongst these, there is one in which he speaks in the first person as follows, on the very subject of the recovery of the bodies of Protase and Gervase:

"Grates tibi, Jesu, novas
Novi repertor muneris,
Protasio Gervasio
Cano repertis fratribus."

According to this hymn, Ambrose speaks of the recovery of the brothers, Protase and Gervase. So it stands in the edition of 1679: but the Milanese scholars tell us that in earlier editions and in the MSS. it stood with a variation in the last line,

"Martyribus inventis cano."

And Professor Ratti approves this last reading.

It is certainly curious to find the controversy introduced

[1] In the volume of *Ambrosiana* the history of the flagellum of S. Ambrose has been traced with great care by Calligaris through the whole period of the middle ages. The idea that it represented the expulsion of the Arians, as Christ drove the traders from the Temple, is too far-fetched to be tenable.

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into the hymn; and when we examine the two forms, and mark the syllables that are in stress, we shall see that the form which is approved at Milan is non-rhythmical and impossible, while the one which they reject has its rhythm perfect, as thus:

"Gratés tibí, Jesú, novás
Noví repértor múneris,
Protásio Gervásio
Canó repértis frátribus."

I have a strong feeling that the original form must be very nearly like this, and that Ambrose did not write the non-rhythmical line that he has been credited with. And that the metrical form must be adhered to is conceded by the Milanese musical editor (Garbagnati), who has published the liturgical melodies for the Ambrosian hymns as an appendix to Colombo's edition of the hymns themselves[1], and accented the lines as we have done, with the necessary adoption of

"canó, repertis frátribus."

But a further test of the correctness would be to examine all the Ambrosian hymns in the breviary, and see whether Ambrose is likely to have begun a stressed iambic line with a dactyl. We may grant, if you please, the theoretical possibility of such a metrical feature in a music which is evolved out of a series of iambic dimeters, even though we may be reasonably certain that stress will soon become the master of quantity. Upon examining the hymns, however, which are attributed to S. Ambrose, *we find not a single case of a line beginning with a dactyl, outside the doubtful case which we are debating.* On the other hand, there are plenty of anapaests; we have counted as many as twelve cases. The anapaest easily survives in the accented verse. Here are one or two instances:

"Procédat e thălămó suo."
"Gĕmĭnæ̆ gigas substántiae."
"Nobís tyrannŭs ăd óppidum."
&c.

It is probable, then, that the editors of the hymns, other than the musical editors, have been restoring the non-Ambrosian

[1] *Gli inni del breviario Ambrosiano*, Milan, 1897.

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form. But, as I have not been able to study the MS. tradition of the hymn, I will not press the argument. There is something to be said on the other side, for the hymn is, in part at least, a versification of Ambrose's letter to Marcellina. We merely suggest that the correct metrical form may, after all, be the original.

If this were the true form, we should have Ambrose himself to appeal to as to whether Protase and Gervase were twins; and we could then go on and confirm their equality from an expression in a hymn of S. Paulinus, who is almost as good an authority as S. Ambrose himself[1].

For Paulinus, in describing the paintings in the basilica of Fundi, intimates that the altar contains relics of apostles and martyrs:

"Hic pater Andreas et magno nomine Lucas
Martyr et inlustris sanguine Nazarius;
Quosque suo deus Ambrosio post longa revelat
Saecula, *Protasium cum pare Gervasio.*
Hic simul una pium conplectitur arcula coetum
Et capit exiguo nomina tanta sinu."

It will be difficult to make the expression "cum pare" quite colourless; one thinks at once of "par nobile fratrum."

[1] Paulinus of Nola, ed. Hartel, vol. I. p. 293.

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CHAPTER XVI.

S. Michael as a Dioscure.

It is significant of the high rank that the Dioscuri took amongst the gods and demi-gods in the ancient world, and of the persistence of the popular worship of them and of the legends associated with them, that in one case they seem to have been displaced, not by a martyr or a pair of martyrs, but by one of the archangels.

There was a sanctuary to S. Michael on the European side of the Bosporus, which commemorated a somewhat indefinite angelophany, which the local legends filled in with such detail that we are able to recognize that it was really a Dioscurophany. For the popular imagination transferred the appearance of S. Michael to pre-Christian times and coupled it with the voyage of the Argonauts. They said that it occurred at a time when the voyagers were threatened by a certain King Amykus, and in their defence flew a celestial being with wings like an eagle, who was, it may be presumed, no other than the great archangel. Now, whatever may have been the original meaning of the shrine of S. Michael on the Bosporus, it is clear that we have here a survival of the story of the conflict between the Argonauts and the Bebryces, and especially of the single combat between Amykus, the king of the Bebryces, and Polydeuces, the Dioscure, so admirably told by Theocritus. The scene has been shifted from the Asiatic side of the Bosporus to the European, but we must not expect exact geography, any more than harmonious chronology, from folk-lore. It seems clear that Polydeuces has here been replaced by Michael, or, if we prefer it, that Michael has been credited

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with the doughty deeds of Polydeuces. The only difference is that in the Argonaut saga Polydeuces is still the human hero, with hard fists and battered body, while in the later legends he is deified and so has to descend into the arena from a superior region and in celestial array. Otherwise the parallel is sufficient, and on the Bosporus we are entitled to regard S. Michael as a Dioscure. The evidence for the foregoing statements will be given presently. Meanwhile observe this, that Lucius, who treats of the matter in his *Origins of the Cult of the Saints*[1], in trying to find out what deity is likely to have been displaced by S. Michael, misses the mark as completely as he did when discussing S. Cosmos and S. Damian, or S. Thomas of Edessa. Lucius moved about in a Dioscurized world without realizing it. But he felt that the displaced champion of the Argonauts must be a friend of sailors, and because there was a worship of Serapis in Pontus and at the entrance to the Black Sea, he concluded that the shrine of S. Michael was a Serapeum, as though Serapis was likely to have fought for the Argonauts.

Now for the evidence. We are told by Sozomen (*H. E.* II. 3) that Constantine built a temple to Michael in a place whose former name was Hestiae, but later Michaelion. This place lies on the right hand of those who navigate the Pontus to Constantinople (and appears, therefore, to be on the European side of the Bosporus); it was about 35 stadia from the city by water, but if you went round the bay the distance would be more than 70 stadia. It was generally believed that Michael the archangel had appeared at this point at some early time, *i.e.* before Constantine's day.

Sozomen goes on to tell tales of marvellous healings in connexion with the shrine, where the archangel appeared as a heavenly Power, and gave advice or conferred grace, as might seem best. Now turn to Malalas, and we shall find that he has an account of a Power, as he calls it, which protected the Argonauts on their way to the Black Sea[2]. They first sailed to the Prince's islands in the Sea of Marmora, from which they made for Chalcedon on the Asiatic side, with

[1] p. 268.

[2] Malalas, *Chron.* IV. 78.

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the intention of working through the Bosporus. At this point Amykus began military operations against them; the Argonauts were terrified, and took shelter in a bay, which was thickly wooded. While they waited here they saw in a vision a Power descend as if from heaven, with eagle-like wings on his shoulders. He foretold to them that they should conquer Amykus. So they put on courage and won the victory, and erected a shrine to their celestial visitor which they called Sosthenes, because they had been saved from danger (or was it that they called the angel Sosthenes ?).

We may feel quite safe in saying that we have here the right to identify Amykus with the king of the Bebryces, and the story is late folk-lore for the legends which we read in the Argonautika.

But we have still the difficulty that the shrines are on opposite sides of the Bosporus. The difficulty can be lightened and perhaps wholly removed by observing that Procopius describes shrines of Michael[1], restored by Justinian, on both sides of the Bosporus. And not only two shrines, apparently on opposite promontories, but more than two, with some difficulty in the geographical identifications.

Thus he tells us that there was a place which the old men called Proöchthoi (*πρόοχθοι*), where apparently the strait was narrow. On the European side in the district called Anaplus (Ἀνάπλους) (which must mean the opposite side to the current that flows down the Bosporus along the Asiatic shore) there was a shrine of Michael, and another on the Asiatic side. Sailors going up the Bosporus would naturally pray to the one, and coming down the Bosporus to the other. And there is another shrine which Justinian restored at a point called Mocadion (*Μωκάδιον*). I do not know whether I can identify these shrines. They were as necessary to sailors of the old time as lighthouses to the moderns. And it is extremely unlikely that any voyagers would have ventured into the Euxine without putting themselves under proper protection for the dangers which were before them. And, as I have said, it hardly seems sufficient to refer all the care of the sailors of the Black Sea to

[1] Procop. *de Aedif.* I. 8, 9.

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Serapis, when we know that elsewhere it was certainly in other and more experienced hands. It is the allusion to the king of the Bebryces, which enables us to affirm that the Twins had charge of the sailors to and from the Black Sea.

Before passing from the point, we may allude to the intensity of the Dioscurism of the story of Jason and the Argonauts. It has been always recognized that amongst the half hundred sturdy seamen who explored Colchis, Castor and Polydeuces occupied the front rank; but it is not so generally observed that almost every known pair of Dioscures in the Greek world was on board. For example, Idas and his brother, the far-seeing Lynceus, were on board; Amphion appears to have been there, and surely we may recognize his counterpart in Zetes the Boread; later legend told how Amphion and Zethus were represented on the mantle which Jason wore, as though one should say they were not Argonauts and yet they were on board. Hercules was in the company, and there are two suggestions of an Iphiklos, which look like a displacement of the twin Iphikles. One of these Iphikli is said to be the offspring of Phylakos and Phylake, who are known in twin-land from Delphi and its associations. Further, there are traces of the family of Aktor, unless the names and legends mislead us. Possibly the explanation of this multiplied reference to twins and the families of twins lies in the antiquity of the Argonaut-saga, which, in its earliest form, would state that the Great Brethren were on board, and then would become subject to expansion.

We have elsewhere alluded to the foundation of a city (Ἡνιοχεία) in Colchis by the charioteers of the Dioscuri; their cult is also betrayed by the numismatics of the Black Sea. The city Olbia, in particular, appears to have been under their protection and to have had them in honour.

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CHAPTER XVII.

That the island of Delos was probably a twin-sanctuary.

In a previous chapter we pointed out that one of the earliest steps in the modification of the taboo against twins was the establishment of a twin-sanctuary, to which the twins' mother and her offspring could be exiled. These twin-towns were open also to others, but if a man, for example, were to visit the sanctuary and marry the woman that was in exile, he was obliged to come under the taboo from which the woman suffered, and could not leave the sanctuary again. He was himself in exile, by the fact of visiting the exiled.

And it becomes an interesting enquiry in connexion with the general question of the origin of sanctuaries (of which we unfortunately know but little) whether it will not follow that a general sanctuary will arise out of the particular sanctuary resulting from the taboo on twins, in which case we should expect to find that there was a historical juxtaposition of twins and rights of asylum; where the former were in evidence, the latter would also have a tendency to appear.

For example, if reason should be brought forward for believing that Romulus and Remus escaped death by drowning in the Tiber, not by the kind offices of a she-wolf, but by being taken into sanctuary, we should at once be able to throw light on the tradition that one of the first things done by Romulus, when founding his city, was the establishment of an asylum for slaves and fugitives upon the Capitoline Hill[1]. It is, at

[1] Livy, lib. I. c. 8.

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all events, natural that we should look for sanctuaries in places where twins have been successfully reared.

In a previous passage we suggested that it might be a suitable subject of enquiry to try and find some of these twin-sanctuaries; the hypothesis being made that the development of human civilization in Europe would, at one time, have presented features of coincidence with what we actually find at the present time in West Africa, and it was suggested in a note that perhaps this might be the explanation for certain twin-like names attached to early cities. It might, perhaps, be the case that the Apollo Didymaeus of Branchidae, who was the Apollo who took possession of an earlier sanctuary named Didymi or Didyma, might cover an earlier cult of the Twins by a later cult of the Sun-god. But perhaps we can find an easier case to discuss, and one not so encumbered by difficulty. Let us then take the case of Delos.

We have already shown that Delos was originally a centre for twin-worship. The White Maidens of the North were honoured there, whose names were Hyperoche and Laodike. We showed how these, in later times, became a pair of male twins. And we have also evidence of the direct honour paid to the Dioscuri in the island. But we are not confined to heroes or demi-gods. Delos is well known to be the centre of the cult of Apollo and Artemis. Two facts come out clearly; the deities were born there, and they were the twin children of Leto. We may, therefore, take Delos as the point of departure of the worship of Apollo and Artemis.

But this is not all; they are said to have come there as to a sanctuary, when Leto was trying to escape from the wrath of Hera. According to the myth, all the other islands of the Aegean refused sanctuary to Leto: this is another way of saying that Delos was an island sanctuary; and since it is reasonably certain that the Hyperborean twins were honoured there before the time of the rise of the worship of Apollo, we may infer that Delos was not only a sanctuary, but a twin-sanctuary. This appears to be the base of the mythological story of the flight of Leto. How strongly the cults of the island of Delos were affected by reminiscences of twin legends,

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may be seen by the variant form for the maidens from the North, Hekaerga and Opis, of whom Claudian writes[1]:

> "Jungunt se *geminae*, metuenda feris Hekaerga,
> Et soror, optatum numen venantibus Opis,
> Progenies Scythiae";

but, although they are clearly a variant of the White Maidens, their names pass over as titles to Artemis and even to Apollo, who appear as Hekaergos and Hekaerge[2], while Artemis is honoured under the name of Opis. The bond between all these names is the idea of twin-birth, which is commemorated in the island of Delos.

In passing we may suggest that sufficient stress has not been laid by the mythologists on the fact that Apollo and Artemis are twins, and probably displace twins. Their cult ought to show some, at least, of the features which we are in the habit of recognizing where twins are honoured. For example, it is explicable on this hypothesis why Artemis is called Phosphorus, and why she is invoked to open the eyes of the blind. It is also clear that the perplexing recurrence of the care for those who travel by sea in the cult of either Apollo or Artemis may be traced to the demi-gods or demi-goddesses whom they displaced[3]: and that women swore by Artemis, as well as by the Heavenly Twins, can easily be demonstrated. For further suggestions that Apollo and Artemis are twins displacing twins, note that Phoebe is one of the feminine twins at Sparta; hence Phoebus for Apollo and Phoebe for Artemis; also that Artemis becomes Phylake, after the Delphian twins Phylakos and Autonoos.

If we have demonstrated that Delos was a twin-sanctuary, we may now return to the subject of the worship of Apollo at Miletus. Is there any proof that Miletus was a twin-town that goes beyond the suggestion furnished by the ancient name of Didymi and the title of Didymaeus? In the first place observe that the cult of Artemis is as much at home in

[1] Claudian, *De Cons. Stilich.* 3. 253.

[2] Clem. Alex., *Strom.* p. 674.

[3] "Ihr Einfluss auf das Meer und die Schifffahrt sollte mehr anerkannt werden als gewöhnlich geschieht." Preller, *Gr. Myth.* I. 317.

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Miletus as that of Apollo, so that here also the suggestion is that twins displace twins, and not merely that Apollo displaces them. In the next place the worship of the Kabiri, probably directly imported from Phenicia, is one of the leading cults in Miletus, so that it looks as if the triumph of Apollo had not been altogether undisputed. The evidence of the inscriptions may be taken as conclusive that the seafaring people of Miletus continued the ancient religion and did not abandon it for the worship of Apollo, however nearly related the two cults may have been. So we shall suggest that Miletus was an ancient centre of Dioscuric or Kabiric worship, and that Didymi was a twin-town.

The mention of Miletus in connexion with the Kabiri leads naturally enough to the most important of all the centres for the worship of seafaring people, the island of Samothrake. Here the Kabiri were honoured in such fashion that they could hardly be distinguished from the Greek Dioscuri: but there were curious variations in the cult: sometimes the Kabiri were two, of whom one was older than the other, and sometimes they were three. In the latter case, one form of honour was by the names of Axieros, Axiokersos, and Axiokersa, of which no satisfactory explanation has yet been given: yet it seems clear that they represent two brothers and a sister, apparently the results of a single birth.

It is interesting to observe that the sanctuary of Samothrake was of the first order, and continued to quite a late date. It was to this sanctuary that Arsinoe fled, and in remembrance of its shelter she decorated the island with many beautiful buildings. It would not take much to persuade me that the sanctuary rights were connected with the primeval taboo upon the twins who became the deities of the island at a later day. But for this more evidence is required than we at present possess.

We shall be safe, at least, in suggesting that a search should be made for twin-towns, and for asylums developed out of them. In the case of Delos and of Didymi, the argument was not very difficult, the cult of twins being so well established in a variety of forms, and the sanctuary rights being traceable

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in the case of Delos, while the name betrays them in the case of Didymi. But what shall we say of such cases as Amphipolis or Amphissa? The latter was a great centre of twin-worship, and Pausanias[1] was unable to decide whether the Ἄνακτες παῖδες, who were honoured there, were Dioscuri, Kabiri, or Kuretes. It seems reasonable in such cases not to take ἀμφὶ in a local sense in the name compounded with it, but to give it a dual meaning. In which case Amphissa would be a twin-town. In that case what would become of Amphipolis? The common explanation is that it means the city which has the river Strymon all round it. Would anyone suspect that a place called Round-town had a river curving round it? I trow not. And it is at least a matter for enquiry whether the name has not been entirely misunderstood.

Let us pass on to a more difficult case, that of the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. The first thing we notice is the plural-formation of the name, for Brugmann is probably wide of the mark in making a locative case out of it. So far the parallel is with Apollo of Didymi. May we say that there was a twin-sanctuary at Delphi before Apollo came on the scene, and that the name of the place betrays it?

We have already shown how the cult of the male twins at Sparta covers a cult of feminine twins, and that their names were Hilaeira and Phoebe; they passed, at a later date, for the wives of the Great Brethren, and the tradition was that they lived next door. But this was a convenient way of getting rid of them. Hilaeira and Phoebe were earlier than Castor and Polydeuces, and, therefore, *à fortiori*, earlier than Apollo and Artemis. And it follows that, when Artemis appears as Phoebe, she is displacing one of the great White Maidens. If her brother takes the name of Phoebus, it must be inferred, as in her case, that there were twins in the background; the sequence being something like this:

Hilaeira and Phoebe
|
Phoebus and Phoebe
|
Apollo-Phoebus and Artemis-Phoebe

[1] x. 38. 7.

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The name of Phoebus, then, betrays a displaced cult, just as Apollo Didymaeus does.

But, further, we have evidence from Delphi itself of the sanctity of twins who were honoured there, and in one of the cases, at least, before Apollo came. The sanctuaries of Phylakos and Autonoos were amongst the holy places of Delphi, because the two heroes had, upon a certain occasion when Delphi was attacked, defended the holy city. We need have no doubt of this being a Dioscurophany. But note what happens; Artemis is found to have the title Phylake, which is the feminine form that corresponds to one of the Delphian twins. So that here also we may imagine a line of traditional cult, something like the following:

Phylakos and Autonoos
|
[Apollo-Phylakos] and Artemis-Phylake.

Phylakos is then an earlier cult than Apollo, and not a later sanctuary introduced into the sacred enclosure.

The other pair of Delphian twins are Hyperochos and Laodikos, who repelled the Gauls at the time when Delphi was threatened by them. We have already pointed out that these are only the males that correspond to the White Maidens of Delos; thus they stand along with Apollo and Artemis who have been shown to be themselves a displacement of the same Delian cult. It follows, then, that although at first sight the Delphian Apollo appears to be independent both of the Twins and of his own twin-sister, he is closely connected with both; and having shown that Apollo is again a twin displacing twins, we are entitled to claim Delphi as a twin-sanctuary.

This brings us to one more case, an extremely interesting one, but far more difficult to establish. We allude to the case of Daphne by Antioch. That Daphne was a sanctuary of the first order is well known. The very cypress-trees in it were taboo, as Procopius tells us. And for the fact that it was a sanctuary, we have the evidence of the writer of the second book of Maccabees, who tells us that Onias made it his place of retreat:

καὶ σαφῶς ἐπεγνωκὼς ὁ Ὀνείας ἀπήνεγκεν ἀποκεχωρηκὼς εἰς ἄσυλον τόπον ἐπὶ Δάφνης τῆς πρὸς Ἀντιοχείας κειμένης (2 Macc. 4[33]).

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This sanctuary is said to owe its taboo to Seleucus Nicator, who copied it from the sanctuary at Delphi. And this may very well be the case, that Seleucus introduced to Antioch the cult of Apollo in the Delphian form. But we have shown already that the Twins, in some form or other, were honoured in Antioch from its first days, probably as Amphion and Zethus. Now did Seleucus take over this cult or bring it with him? If he took it over, there was probably a twin-sanctuary at Daphne already, and all that Seleucus did was to Delphize the sanctity, in which case we are at liberty to place the Twins in the holy enclosure at Daphne along with Apollo: and if, on the other hand, Seleucus introduced the Twins, as he is said to have introduced the worship of Apollo, the chances are that they are all on the holy ground together, as they were at Delphi; in that case Daphne, while not a twin-sanctuary of the first or natural order, becomes a twin-sanctuary of the second or reflected kind. With that restriction we may group it with the other sanctuaries that we have identified. The attachment of the Seleucids to the Dioscuri we have already shown from the coins. In fact it is a continuous worship at Antioch, and of the first importance. And it is not so difficult, now, to believe that S. Thomas may have displaced the Great Brethren at Antioch, as he did at Edessa.

But we must not travel too far afield and will therefore simply repeat the theses of this chapter;

(*a*) Analogy suggests that twin-towns existed in early times.

(*b*) Such sanctuary-centres for twin-mothers would easily become general asylums.

(*c*) We find such twin-towns and sanctuaries suggested in the case of Rome, Delos, Didymi, and Samothrake: perhaps even at Delphi and Daphne.

(*d*) And we suspect there are more of the same kind to be recognized.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

Kabiri, Kuretes, and Korybantes.

It seems hardly right to leave the subject without some further allusion to the three cults that are parallel to that of the Heavenly Twins, and often confused with it. I refer to the rituals of the Kabiri, Kuretes, and Korybantes. To the Kabiri we have several times made allusion, but the ancients tell us that the Kuretes and Korybantes were also parallel to the Dioscuri. There is an excellent supplement to Preller's *Greek Mythology*, which deals with the relations of the several cults; but there are one or two points which it seems proper to mention here. First of all it should be remarked that the Kabiri and Korybantes are female as well as male, and thus illustrate our doctrine of the appearance of the Heavenly Twins in both sexes. Accordingly, we find that Strabo, after enunciating the identity of the Kabiri and the Korybantes, goes on to quote Pherecydes as an authority for the belief that Hephaestus wedded a certain Kabira, and from her begat three Kabiri and an equal number of Kabiridae. I suppose this means that there were two rival triads: the well-known triad of the Kabiri, and the unrecognized triad of feminine Kabirae. It is in the highest degree probable that these female Kabiri are the forms known to us as the Greek *Charites*; and it agrees with this assumption of the Dioscuric or Kabiric character of the *Charites*, that they are displaced by the cult of Apollo and Artemis[1], just as we have shown the White Maidens of Delos

[1] Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 291. "The ancient threefold goddesses, as all-powerful Charites, paled before the Olympians, faded away into mere dancing attendant maidens."

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and the Kabiri of Miletus to be displaced. In fact their displacement may be inferred, as Miss Harrison has suggested, from the fact that in Greek art they are represented as dancing round the altar of Apollo, or mounted upon his outstretched hand; the latter is, according to Miss Harrison, a sure sign of a displaced cult. So that we may take the *Charites* as an instance of the lost female triad, which we naturally suspected to be in evidence somewhere.

There seems to be further testimony on this point from Northern and Western Europe. We have suggested in a previous chapter that the three Irish Brigits belong to this class. There is also a case of three evidently mythical young women amongst the companions of S. Ursula, known by the names of

Einbett, Warbett, and Villbett,

to whom the critical attention may be pointed.

As to the confusion between the Kabiri and the Korybantes, it is frequent. For example, it is quite certain that the local deities of Thessalonica were Demeter and the Kabiri. Demetrius of Thessalonica displaces them all; but the Kabiri, who were spoken of, consist of three brothers, two of whom slay the third. When Clement of Alexandria[1] refers to this bit of Dioscurism, he tells the story of the *Korybantes*,

εἰ θέλεις δὲ ἐποπτεῦσαι καὶ τὰ Κορυβάντων ὄργια, τὸν τρίτον ἀδελφὸν ἀποκτείναντες οὗτοι, τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ νεκροῦ φοινίκι ἀπεκαλυψάτην.

The Kuretes are also involved in a similar confusion, as we may see from Pausanias' description of the demi-gods worshipped at Amphissa:

ἄγουσι τελετὴν Ἀμφισσεῖς Ἀνάκτων καλουμένην παίδων· οἵτινες δὲ Θεῶν εἰσὶν οἱ Ἄνακτες παῖδες, οὐ κατὰ ταὐτά ἐστιν εἰρημένον· οἱ μὲν Διοσκούρους οἱ δὲ Κούρητας, οἱ δὲ, πλέον τι ἐπίστασθαι νομίζοντες, Καβείρους λέγουσι.

Amongst the interesting parallels between the Eastern and Western Twin-cults and their derivatives, it is worth while remarking that the same differentiation which we found in the case of the Dioscuri, took place in certain quarters with the Kabiri. Thus in Thebes they were regarded as a pair,

[1] *Strom.* v. 12.

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one of whom was old, and the other young; the elder being comparable with Zeus, the younger with Dionysos. In Samothrake there was a tradition that Zeus was the father of the three Kabiri, who are three in number, two boys and a girl, all born of Electra; we are here very close to the Greek myth of the Tyndaridae.

On the great altar of Pergamum a pair of Kabiri have been identified along with Cybele, but here too one of them is older than the other. The pair are engaged in slaying a bull-headed giant; one of the pair knocks him on the head with a hammer, the other stabs him with a sword. The hammer should be noted; it is the mell of Thor, and the hammer with which the Lithuanian twins liberate the imprisoned Sun-god. It means that the Kabiri are the children of the Thunder-god. But in another myth they are the children of Hephaestus; and this shows us he is a thunder-god in his own right, and not merely the slave of Zeus, when he forges thunderbolts. His position is much more like that of Zeus than is commonly supposed. No doubt all the developments run back into the two statements that

> Twins make rain:
> Twins produce thunder and lightning.

Hence they are the Children of the Sky, and the Children of the Thunder-god.

And when the Kuretes are represented as clapping cymbals over the newly-born Zeus, it is open to a suspicion that they are really imitating thunder and not simply trying to deafen the gluttonous Kronos, and prevent him from hearing the voice of his infant son. They are the rain-makers of an earlier age.

We see also why the legend reported that the Kuretes were really the children of the Zeus whom they were supposed to be protecting.

For further information as to the relations between the Dioscuric and semi-Dioscuric cults we must refer to the text-books on mythology.

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CHAPTER XIX.

On the symbols of the Dioscuric cult.

We may be reasonably certain that a cult, so widely diffused and so persistent as that of the Heavenly Twins will develop symbols of its own, and that the reverence paid to the twins will be reflected upon the symbols, so that these will themselves become objects of worship. A religion of this kind is bound to have an amulet of its own: and we may therefore suspect that the Dokana (δόκανα), or sacred cross-beams which express the Dioscuri, will have a superstitious reverence paid to them and will acquire a religious value. The parallel is very close with the worship of the cross, which has been superimposed upon the Christian religion, with the result that the sign itself has been credited with power to avert evil and to assure good, and consequently has become a direct object of worship.

Now in Sparta it is well known that the sign of the Dioscuri is the δόκανα, but it is not yet as clear as one could wish it to be, in what way the sacred cross-beams were arranged and what was the resulting conventional figure of them.

In the votive tablet of Argenidas, now at Verona in the Museo Civico, we have an Anakeion or Temple of the Dioscuri (Ἀνακες), whose front is marked by the sign of the Dokana; the beams, if we may assume the relief to contain the whole of the representation, are simply arranged in the form of the letter H, and the figure is repeated, so that we have side by side the delineation H H. But here we are not quite sure that the artist has treated the subject fairly: for, in the first place, Plutarch tells us (*De amore frat.* § 1) that the cross-beams were double, in which case we ought to have a representation of the

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form ⊨ ⊨ : and in the next place, it looks as if the repetition of the symbol were a mistake of the artist, who did not realize that one such sign stood for the pair of Dioscuri. If the sign with double cross-beams be the correct one, we could then compare it with the unfinished brick wall which is the sign of the twins in Babylonia; but we need more information on this point from Spartan and other monuments. It has something to do with building, but what the particular thing is that is being builded is not so clear. And it is quite possible that the Verona monument is right, as far as Italy is concerned, and that it varied its Dokana from the traditional Spartan form.

Suppose, now, we pass from Verona and the votive relief of the safely-returned Argenidas, and examine the Milanese mosaics of S. Protase and S. Gervase, which are recognized to go back nearly to the time of S. Ambrose. We shall find that the garments of the two saints are marked by a mysterious symbol, which the Milanese scholars have not succeeded in explaining.

These markings, according to Prof. Ratti[1], have the form of the letter H, when lying on its side, or rather, of a double T. They make one think, says Ratti, of the well-known passage in Ezekiel (ix. 46) where the sacred Tau is placed on the foreheads of the faithful; one has only to imagine that they have been removed from the forehead to the raiment for aesthetic reasons. Unfortunately this hypothesis broke down at the start, for the same marks turned up elsewhere, and not always on Christian figures or monuments, so that the hypothesis that they stood for the ordinary Christian sign had to be abandoned. And no other solution seems to have been propounded, deserving of attention. We propose an alternative explanation to that of Prof. Ratti, viz. that the signs are the taboo-mark of the Dioscuri[2].

At the start, we are confronted with what might seem to be a fatal objection. The hypothesis would explain the marks with sufficient exactness, but unfortunately the Milanese artist

[1] In *Ambrosiana*, p. 31.

[2] I use the term taboo-mark, which may apply to men or things. Cain, in the book of Genesis, has such a taboo-mark. It was, no doubt, conventional.

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has not confined them to the robes of Protase and Gervase, but he has also bestowed them on Nabor and Felix. And while they might be appropriate in the former case, there has not been a suggestion that Nabor and Felix come from the same mint as Protase and Gervase. Let us see what can be said against such an objection. It is clear that if it can be sustained, the occurrence of the supposed Dokana on the garments of Protase and Gervase will be much less important, for it could be argued that the artist was merely using conventional modes of ornamentation, and if, on the other hand, it can be shown that the signs are applicable also to Nabor and Felix, we shall have an extraordinary confirmation of the justice of our view with regard to S. Ambrose and his discoveries.

What then do we know about Nabor and Felix? We know that they were the popular saints of Milan in Ambrose's day: the people frequented their shrine in crowds, nor does it appear that the new saints banished the old ones; it was by excavating in the neighbourhood of their shrine that Ambrose found the other two whose miracle-working bodies made such a stir. The earlier pair were not really Milanese martyrs, but had been brought there from outside, perhaps from Lodi, but who they were or what they were is an unsolved problem of the hagiologists. Their *Acta* are evidently mere rubbish, without a grain of truth, unless it should lie in the suggestion that they were saints who had come over from the ranks of the military. The pair are honoured in a number of distinct and distant centres, but no one knows anything certain about them. Sometimes other saints are joined with them, as Nabor, Felix and Fortunatus, or Nabor, Felix and Victor.

Let us then begin with Nabor. The first thing that strikes us is his name. It is not Latin, nor Greek nor Celtic; and we, therefore, suspect that the saints have come from without, bringing their names with them. As we have already seen something of the way in which foreign cults are imported into the West, we begin to enquire more closely and more easterly into the mysterious Nabor. And we find that it is, almost exactly, one of the names under which the imported Mithra was worshipped in the West. The student of Mithraic inscrip-

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tions knows how often the Mithraic dedication turns up in the form

deo invicto Nabarze [*var.* Nabarde];

Nabarze, then, is a Persian name localised, and it means, according to Cumont, the warrior, the strong one, for which the Persian word is given as *Nabard*[1]. It corresponds closely, in meaning, to the Dioscuric Aziz of Edessa, and the coincidence in form with the Milanese name is so close that we are entitled to say that the worship of Nabor in Milan was a thin disguise for the worship of Mithra. Milan was a notable centre of Mithraic worship, and had its own Mithraeum, for which a Christian substitute had, no doubt, to be found[2].

But if this be correct then Felix also must belong to the Mithraic worship, and stand for one of the torch-bearers: he will be a Divine Felix, something like the *deus puer bonus* of Edessa. But where is there any suggestion of such an identification? I answer that it lies on the very surface of the hagiology. We will proceed to explain in what sense this is true.

When we try to find out about Felix, we shall soon detect that the tradition of the martyrologies presents us, in the early times of which we are speaking, with four or more Felixes upon Italian soil: one, the saint honoured at Milan; the second, who appears as martyred on the Ostian way along with a companion named Adauctus; and the third, S. Felix of Nola; the fourth we have already found with his double Fortunatus at Vicenza and elsewhere. There is also a tradition of another shadowy Felix, who is said to be a Roman presbyter. It need scarcely be said that these traditions are not independent, and a little criticism soon reduces their number by showing common matter in the traditions, and brings to light a very important point with regard to the Dioscurism of the group. The question is, whether the Milanese Felix, who does not really belong to Milan, is the same as Felix of Ostia, or Felix of Nola, or Felix of Aquileia, or whether he is someone else.

[1] Cumont, *Mon.* I. p. 208, note 6. *Nabard* signifie en persan, "combat," et *Nabarza* "le fort, le courageux"; Géza Kúun, *Arch. Epig. Mitt.* VI. (1882), p. 107.

[2] See Cumont, No. 190 = C.I.L. v. 5795.

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Now suppose we turn to the martyrology of Ado, and look under Aug. 30, where we shall find the commemoration of Felix and Adauctus. The account begins, in a strain with which we are growing familiar:

"Fuere autem *duo fratres nomine et opere Felices*, ambo presbyteri. Horum senior Felix, &c."

Then the account goes on to describe how Felix the elder used to make the pagan idols fall down by blowing upon them, and how he was finally brought to trial and condemned. As he was going to his martyrdom he was joined by an anonymous person who wished to share his confession, and the story tells how this mysterious person was named by the Christians Adauctus, because he had been added (auctus) to the crown of S. Felix.

Observe that the second brother has been forgotten, or to put it more probably, he has been replaced by an anonymous stranger. But that he was a martyr also appears from the fact that he is canonised upon another day. We turn to the *Acta Sanctorum* for Jan. 14, and we find him introduced as follows:

"Post haec alius sanctus vir venerabilis, memorati martyris [Felicis] germanus junior, adductus ad Draccum."

Here we see the origin of the name *Adauctus*, which is simply a misreading of *adductus*, and we recognize in the Roman presbyter who is being described the second Felix. We have now got rid of the shadowy Roman Felix and of Adauctus; and we have added another Felix to the martyr on the Ostian way. Tillemont tried to get rid of the second Felix, but the Bollandists maintain rightly, against Tillemont, that there are two brothers so named; they put Felix No. 2 under Jan. 14, and quote his Acts in a form which makes Felix No. 2 allude to the death of Felix No. 1.

But, if we are right, and the Bollandists, in this sudden resuscitation of the second Felix, we go one step further: we not only say that Adauctus is Felix, but, bearing in mind what we discovered about the naming of twins, we affirm that the possession of a common name implies that they were born at

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the same time[1]. The supposition, then, that there was a pair of divine Felixes is sufficiently confirmed, and we need not hesitate to say, in view of the discovery, that Nabor and Felix are unitedly a Mithraic survival. The secret of Ambrose was, that it would be worth while to have a pair of twin martyrs of their own in Milan, in addition to the traditionally imported pair or triad of martyrs, who stood for Mithra and his torch-bearer, and who had been brought from some place further south.

Remembering that we had already demonstrated the fraternal character of the pair, Felix and Fortunatus, and observing further that in some religious centres we have a combined worship of Nabor, Felix and Fortunatus, we are now able to state the conclusion that any early Italian martyr whose name is Felix should be suspected of Dioscurism, and the suspicion amounts almost to a demonstration where the Felix in question is found associated

(*a*) with a Mithraic companion, as Nabor;

(*b*) with a brother of the same name;

(*c*) with a brother of an equivalent name, as Fortunatus.

I must not spend time over S. Felix of Nola, who may be a repetition of one of these cases[2].

We must now add a few more words with regard to the Dokana.

The foregoing argument is valid, with regard to Nabor and Felix, whether the identification of the H mark with the Dioscuric Dokana is valid or not. And it must not be disguised that there are serious objections to the identification. The mark is found upon Christian monuments, representing Peter and Paul; *e.g.* in the Church of S. Cosmas and S. Damian at Rome, but apparently not on the robes of the titular saints of the Church, who are being presented to Christ by the two

[1] Tree-worship comes out again in this martyrdom, for the Acts tell us that it took place at a sacred tree on the Ostian way.

[2] The reader of legends will find that Nola is full of chapels to holy Felixes in the old time: that the most famous saint of Nola had care over perjury, over shipwrecks, and over lost cattle. S. Augustine sent a brother from Africa to take an oath at the tomb of S. Felix of Nola, for whom he evidently had a high regard. The superstitious side of S. Augustine's character has never been properly appreciated.

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chief apostles. The sign is also found on the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna, apparently on the skirts of the apostles, Peter and Paul. It is also found on the mantle of Christ in a catacomb at Syracuse, and probably elsewhere. It would not be difficult to maintain that Peter and Paul, as the spiritual founders of Rome, who often have twin-like analogies, and who sometimes actually displace the Twins, might be honoured with the Dioscuric mark[1]. But the sign seems to be too widely diffused for a certain identification. What makes for its acceptance is the fact that it appears to be non-Christian, as well as Christian. The problem, however, requires a closer investigation. But, as we have said, we can establish the Mithraic and Dioscuric character of Nabor and Felix, without reference to the signs which first led us to the interpretation which we have given of these very popular saints. We might, indeed, have suspected that Mithra must have been writ larger on the Church and its Calendar than the single instance which we gave of a S. Mitraeus, who was worshipped in the south of France. Nabor and Felix are of wide and early diffusion; and there must be more traces of this Persian religion in the Christian records and practices than people generally have suspected or thought possible[2].

[1] Peter and Paul do, sometimes, succeed to the Dioscuri: at Naples, for example, in the church of S. Paolo Maggiore, may be seen the broken statues of the Twins, and the following lines may be read:

"Audit vel surdus Pollux cum Castore Petrum;
Nec mora: praecipiti marmore uterque ruit.
Tyndaridas vox missa ferit: palma integra Petri est;
Dividit at tecum, Paule, tropaea libens."

See Albert: *Castor et Pollux*, p. 48.

[2] I add in a note the philological identification of Nabarzes, which Cumont quotes from Géza Kúun, *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* VI. (1882), p. 107:

"Die Endung des Namens Nabarza ist das altpers. und altbakt. Suffix *a*, welches zur Bildung von Hauptwörtern verwendet wird. Dem *z*-Laut der altbaktr. Sprache entspricht häufig in der alt- und neu-persischen Sprache *d*, welche Laut-veränderung auch hier in der neupers. Form *Nabarda* (vgl. den altbakt. Namen *Nabarzanes*) vorkommt. *Nabard* bedeutet in der neupers. Sprache Kampf und *Nabarza* den Starken, Tapfern."

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CHAPTER XX.

Concluding Remarks.

We have now taken our rapid survey of what may, perhaps, be described as the oldest religion in the world; a religion which is still extant in some of its simplest and most primitive forms, though, of course, it will very soon disappear. We have shown that in all parts of the world and in all periods of history, there is evidence of a taboo of extraordinary force upon twin children and their mother. We have traced the modification of this taboo from its more cruel forms to a milder cult. We have shown how twin-asylums were formed, how the taboo was gradually restricted from the mother and children to a single child, and how the belief arose that one of the children was of spirit-ancestry and not really normal. We found that at a later stage both children were credited with sky-parentage, and were known as the Children of the Sky. We have shown that this is exactly the Greek belief, as disclosed by the legends of Castor and Polydeuces, the Children of the Sky-god. But the belief is not limited to Aryan civilization; it occurs in Semitic circles also, and can be traced in the earlier chapters of Genesis, and down to the building of Solomon's Temple, as well as in Phenicia and Mesopotamia. It was further pointed out that the cult was not limited to male twins, but that the sacred twins were found in both sexes: that they were sources of fertility, and were able to charm rain from heaven; at a later stage they become the healers of diseases, the great saviours of the distressed, the protectors of women in travail, of sick persons, those that travel by land and water, of young children and the newly married. They are the patrons of truthfulness, and punish perjury. In literature and art they are differentiated, one from the other, by names, colours, stature, age, hair, beards and the like.

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We then proceeded to show that the Calendar of the Christian Church is full of converted pairs of twins, of whom it is safe to say that hardly any are other than mythical. We examined the legends of French and Italian saints in order to make this more clear, devoting special attention to a case which has been challenged—that of the patron saints of Milan. We pointed out that similar unhistorical creations exist in the Eastern Church, and examined the cases of Cosmas and Damian, Cyrus and John, Nearchus and Polyeuctes. We then discussed again the evidence that the twins were worshipped in Edessa, and displaced by a cult of Jesus and his twin-brother Judas. It was seen that this surprising belief was not limited to Mesopotamia, but that it could be traced all over Western Europe; and the meaning of this strange conjunction was reserved for further study in a subsequent volume.

Some attempt was made, perhaps not altogether successful, to show that S. Thomas had displaced the Dioscuri in Antioch.

Returning to the West it was pointed out that S. Ambrose became a Dioscure in the middle ages.

Search was then made for Graeco-Roman sanctuaries that might be parallel to the Twin-towns of West Africa, and some were found. Certain Asiatic cults were tested for parallelism with the Dioscurism of Greece and Rome. S. Michael was shown to be in the Dioscuric succession; and finally it was proved that the worship of Mithra and the Twins was still extant in the Church, and that the presence of the Persian sun-god was not limited to a stray instance of the Mithra cult, which had previously been detected in the south of France.

It would be superfluous to re-state at length the case which has been made out in the foregoing investigation for the fundamental paganism of the Christian Church, as disclosed by its calendar of saints and registered rituals. Faustus the Manichee was surely right when, in his disputation with Augustine, he says that "you have turned the pagan sacrifices into love-feasts, their idols into martyrs, whom you honour with like sacrifices to them: you appease the shades of the dead with wine and banquets, and celebrate the solemn days of the Gentiles along with them[1]." Nor would it be a sufficient

[1] Aug. *Contra Faustum* xx. 20.

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reply to Faustus, or to his modern representatives, to say that the changes were for the better, when the changes are the result of an astonishing cooperation in ecclesiastical frauds, in which some of the most honoured names in the Church are involved. So far from the Church leaders being ashamed of what they have done, they rather glory in it. For instance, Theodoret, who was bishop of Cyrrhus, to which place we traced the fabrication of the legends of Cosmas and Damian, glories in the transfer of the false miracles of paganism to the Church, and tells us that the *ex votos* of the ancient sanctuaries are to be seen as before. An examination of his language will show conclusively that the martyrs had, amongst other triumphs, displaced the Dioscuri and taken over their functions[1]. For he tells us that those who are in health come to pray for a continuance of that blessing; those who are worn by disease, desire relief; childless men and sterile women come to pray for offspring, or bring grateful acknowledgements for the same. Those who are planning a journey ask for the companionship and guidance of the martyrs. True, they do not address them as gods, but only as divine men. The dedications in the Church prove the answers to their prayers: the place is adorned with models of restored hands and feet, &c. The Lord has, he says, introduced his own dead men in place of the Greek gods, and so the faithful may be encouraged to abandon the error of the demons, and take the martyrs as their luminaries and guides.

It does not look as if they had abandoned very much at Cyrrhus, at all events. Nor is the case very different in other centres[2].

We may at least be thankful, in view of the wide-spread veil of error that has been cast over peoples and countries, that there has been one Reformation, and that another is coming.

[1] Theodoret, ed. Migne, col. 1031.

[2] It is curious that while Theodoret mentions certain Apostles and Saints who have succeeded to the pagan honours, he does not number Cosmas and Damian amongst them. He says that they celebrate instead of the Pandia and Diasia and Dionysia, the festivals of Peter and Paul and Thomas, of Sergius and Marcellus and Leontius, and Antoninus and Maurice. But perhaps he was not thinking of his own diocese when he wrote, so much as of the Greek world generally.

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SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

p. 7, note 3. Jeremias has fallen into confusion over the Babylonian Sin and Nergal, which he explains as sun and moon. Zimmern, however, explains both Sin and Nergal of the moon, according as it is waxing or waning. And although, as we have said, it is difficult to comprehend this division or to put ourselves into a state of mind where the moon is regarded as twins, it is not an impossible solution, as that of Jeremias is. It would be easier to apprehend if we were to regard the lunar month as divided into three portions; the waxing moon, the full moon, and the waning moon. And this might possibly give us Helena between her two brothers. Such a conception must, in any case, belong to a very early period, earlier, at all events, than the period when Hesper-Phosphor was regarded as a pair of twin stars.

p. 18, note 3. On the other hand there are traces that twin murder once prevailed on the Congo. Mrs Stephens, who belongs to the same mission as Dr Bentley, tells me that it is the custom to neglect the care of the second of a pair of twins: and that few of them survive. The names given to twins in this region are Nšimbe and Nzuzi. Mrs Stephens has only once met a person bearing the second of these names. This information comes from the Cataract region on the lower Congo. Higher up the river, the neglect is extended to the mother and the other child.

Since writing the foregoing, I have been sorry to hear of Dr Bentley's sudden death.

p. 28. *Twins and Fertility.* Mr Frazer points out to me, that at Thebes a magical virtue was supposed to be inherent in the earth of the grave of Amphion and Zethus. The reference is to Pausanias (IX. 17. 4).

"The common tomb of Zethus and Amphion is a small mound of earth. The people of Tithorea, in Phocis, try to filch some of the

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earth from this mound at the time when the sun is in Taurus, for if at that time they take earth from the mound [and place it on] the tomb of Antiope, their land will bear fruit, but the Theban land will be less fertile. Therefore at that season the Thebans keep a watch on the tomb."

p. 33. *Dioscurism in the Temple at Jerusalem.* There is a piece of evidence from an unexpected quarter which shows that, in the popular mind at all events, the Jewish monotheistic worship at Jerusalem had not been altogether purged of its Dioscuric elements.

In the second book of the Maccabees we have an account of the Jewish fortunes in the period of the Seleucid domination and subsequently, which is recognized to be largely non-historical, and to be surcharged with folk-lore and miracle. That does not make it less valuable or less interesting for an enquiry like the one on which we are engaged. And we may draw attention to the record which the book contains of an attempted raid upon the treasures which were deposited in the temple at Jerusalem (which in many ways may be looked upon as a Semitic Delphi) and the manner in which the outrage was resented by the presiding and protecting deity.

The account appears to be taken from the history of Jason of Cyrene, and is found in the third chapter of the second book of Maccabees. Here we are told how one Heliodorus had been sent by Seleucus IV. (c. 187 B.C.) to annex the temple deposits. He forced his way into the treasury, the whole city being aghast with fear at his audacity, and as he was standing there with an armed guard, the Lord of Spirits, the Prince of all Power, caused an apparition. "There appeared unto them a horse with a terrible rider upon him, and adorned with a very fair covering, and he ran fiercely and smote at Heliodorus with his forefeet, and it seemed that he that sat upon the horse had complete harness of gold. Moreover two other young men appeared before him, notable in strength, and excellent in beauty, and comely in apparel, who stood by him on either side and scourged him continually and gave him many stripes." So he was carried out half-dead and put in a litter. The high-priest Onias made intercession for him: and the two young men appeared again, and told Heliodorus that he might thank the high-priest for his prayers, which had been answered, and tell the whole world that he had been scourged of Heaven for his crimes.

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There can be little doubt that this is Dioscuric folk-lore; and so the Dioscuri were still at home in the Temple, according to the tradition of the vulgar.

It is recognized as belonging to this class of legend by W. Fairweather in the Supplement to *Hastings' Dictionary*, p. 287, as follows:

"The same idea [of angelic guardianship] was extended to nations and armies (Dan. xii. 1, 2 Mac. xi. 6, xv. 23). Indeed we find in 2 Mac. almost a repetition of the old Roman legend of Castor and Pollux mounted on white steeds and appearing at the head of the Jewish armies (iii. 25 ff.). A somewhat similar tale is told in x. 29 f. where 'five' such men appear, two of them leading on the Jews."

No doubt this is the right explanation: the angels have displaced the Dioscuri, as we pointed out in the story of Abraham and his heavenly guests. But this leads us to recognize in the Maccabean story a theophany, as well as an angelophany. The third rider must be the figure of Jahveh; a suggestion which is made by Nestle in his *Miszellen* in Stade's *Zeitschrift* for 1905.

p. 54. The statement made by the saints, that they were not to be regarded as the Heavenly Twins, will be found in Dübner, *De Incubatione*, p. 77:

Φθάσαντες εἰς τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ ὁ πεμφθεὶς παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἕλλην καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων ἔκειτο τοῦτον ἀποστρεφόμενοι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους θλιβομένους θεραπείας εἴχοντο. τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτο σχῆμα πλειστάκις ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενόμενον ὁ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεωρήσας... ἤρξατο...κράζειν καὶ δέεσθαι αὐτῶν, ὡς ἂν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέλθωσιν καὶ κουφίσωσιν τῆς περιεχούσης αὐτὸν θλίψεως...ἀπεκρίναντο ὀργίλως οἱ ἅγιοι· μὴ γὰρ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθας, ἑταῖρε· μὴ γὰρ ἡμᾶς λεγόμεθα Κάστωρ καὶ Πολυδεύκης· τούτου δὲ ἐπιμένοντος...φθέγγονται πάλιν οἱ θεράποντες πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπομειδιῶντες· ἑταῖρε, τὶ κατακράζεις ἡμῶν, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς ἡμᾶς μὴ παραγενόμενος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἄλλους ἀποσταλείς; ἡμεῖς γὰρ οὔκ ἐσμεν Κάστωρ καὶ Πολυδεύκης, ἀλλὰ δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ...ὑπάρχομεν καὶ Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ προσηγορίαν κεκτήμεθα.

p. 57, l. 26. "The Twins were far-seeing like their Sire." We may compare Furtwängler's description of the artistic representation of the Dioscuri (Roscher, *Lex.* s.v. Dioscuri): "die Augen sind gross und weit geöffnet *wie bei Helios.*"

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p. 85, l. 21. For *Chronos* read *Kronos*.

p. 93. For the Twins as traditional figures of Life and Death, cf. Cumont, *Mon.* I. 304: "à un autre point de vue, on regardait l'un des porte-flambeau comme l'emblème de la chaleur et *de la vie*, l'autre, comme celui du froid et *de la mort*."

p. 95. Some of my friendly Roman Catholic critics think I have exaggerated the language of S. Ambrose about his finding "plurimum sanguinis" in the grave of Protase and Gervase, and that it does not mean more than the stains of blood. But Ambrose was not thinking how the matter would be accepted in the twentieth century: when he discovered Agricola and Vitalis, he says, or is made to say, "Collegi sanguinem," evidently liquid blood. When he brought the body of S. Nazarius into Milan, the blood was not only liquid but fresh; Paulinus, who was present, tells us (c. 32) that it was fresh, as if newly shed (quasi eodem die fuisset effusus); and he goes on to say that the hair, which the godless had cut off, was grown again and orderly, to fulfil the Lord's promise that "not a hair of your head shall perish." There is more evidence of the kind, if wanted: and we ought not to spoil S. Ambrose's miracles, in order to please the twentieth century.

p. 100. It is curious that at Aegae again we have a place name in the plural. I do not know whether this is accidental, or whether the plurality can be explained.

p. 101, note 2. Procopius tells us of the affection which Justinian had for Cosmas and Damian, who had appeared to him when he had been given up by the physicians and restored him to life. In their honour he not only built temples at Constantinople, but in Cyrrhus, where the bodies of the saints were lying (*down to my time*, says Procopius: see *de Aedif.* II. 11).

p. 102, note 1. Correct the reference to Overbeck to p. 163.

p. 105. *S. Thomas in Edessa.* Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenkults*, p. 244, comes very near to the discovery of the predecessor of Thomas at Edessa. It is clear, he says, that Thomas has displaced a Syrian god; and the god was of no mean rank, since, according to Gregory of Tours, S. Thomas was honoured with a month of free markets and of immunity from taxation. This holy fifth month must be due to the cult of one of the most important Edessan deities.

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Unfortunately Lucius had already come to the conclusion that the Syrian Aziz had been displaced by S. Sergius. So he left S. Thomas hanging on nothing.

p. 125, l. 17. For *Leucius* read *Lucius.*

p. 132. *Serapis or the Dioscuri?* The substitution of S. Michael the Archangel for Serapis by Lucius was justifiable, so far as it recognized Serapis as presiding over navigation and having a special cult amongst Black Sea sailors. But, as we have pointed out, it came just short of the truth, because it threw Serapis into conflict with Amykus, the King of the Bebryces. For an interesting case where Serapis and the Dioscuri appear together in the interests of navigation, we may take a lamp in the *Cabinet Durand*, described by Albert, *Castor et Pollux en Italie*, p. 168, as follows:

Lampe en forme de barque trouvée près de Pouzzoles dans la mer. Vers la proue, Sérapis est représenté avec Isis, déesse de la navigation. Au-dessous, un des Dioscures, vêtu de la chlamyde, coiffé du piléus, armé de la lance et debout à côté de son cheval, qu'il tient par la bride.... A l'extrémité de la barque, la tête radiée du soleil. Enfin sur la barque, on lit ΛΑΒΕΜΕΤΟΝΗΛΙΟΝCΕΡΑΠΙΝ.

p. 137. *Displacement of the Twins by Apollo and Artemis.* This displacement can be traced on the imperial coins of Asia Minor, where we constantly find Apollo and the Dioscuri associated; sometimes the Dioscure is carried on the arm of Apollo, and described as a Syrian Kabir. Thus the coins tell the same story of the equivalence of the Dioscuri and the Kabiri and their displacement by Apollo.

p. 137. The equivalence of the Korybantes and the Kabiri comes out in Strabo x. 472 ἔτι δὲ Κρόνου τινὲς τοὺς Κορύβαντας· ἄλλοι δὲ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Καλλιόπης φασί, τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῖς Καβείροις ὄντας.

p. 138. For the descent of the Kabiri from Hephaestus and for the existence of male and female triads of Kabiri see Strabo, l.c. Ἀκουσίλαος δ' ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἐκ Καβείρης καὶ Ἡφαίστον Κάσμιλον (?) λέγει· τοῦ δὲ, τρεῖς Καβείρους, ὧν Νύμφας Καβειρίδας· Φερεκύδης δ' ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ῥυτίας· Κορύβαντας ἐννέα· οἰκῆσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ· ἐκ δὲ Καβείρης τῆς Πρώτεως καὶ Ἡφαίστου Καβείρους τρεῖς καὶ Νύμφας τρεῖς Καβειρίδας.

p. 138. *Samothrace as a Twin-Sanctuary.* Our investigation into the possibility of the existence of primitive twin-sanctuaries led

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us to the consideration of the worship of the Kabiri at Miletus and at Samothrake. At this point we are reminded by Strabo that the original name of Samothrake was Melite. And since we are entitled from the Kabiric worship to assume that Samothrake was originally a Phenician settlement, we ought to interpret its primitive name as from a Semitic root, just as we do with the word Kabir (Heb. כבר). The root is easily recognized; it is the Hebrew מלט, which means "to escape"; a word which is played upon in Acts xxviii. 1 where Luke says that "when we were escaped, we knew that the island was called *Scape*." Here then are two islands, which bear the Semitic name of *place of escape*. And since we know that one of them is a famous sanctuary, we must explain the name in accordance with the fact, and recognize the islands, not merely as places where shipwrecked people have been saved, but in the more general sense, of places consecrated as shelters by religious custom.

p. 141. *Dioscuri on Seleucid Coins.* The Dioscuri appear on the coins of Antiochus I. (281—261 B.C.) (see Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. gr.* p. 425): and apparently from that time forward they can be numismatically recognized.

A particularly interesting case is their appearance on the coinage of Seleucus II. (246—226 B.C.), for here Apollo has one side of the coin, and the Twins the other; which is a good illustration of our statement that Apollo and the Twins were honoured together at Daphne.

THE END.

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West African twins saved by British Missionaries.

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The twin-pillars at Edessa.

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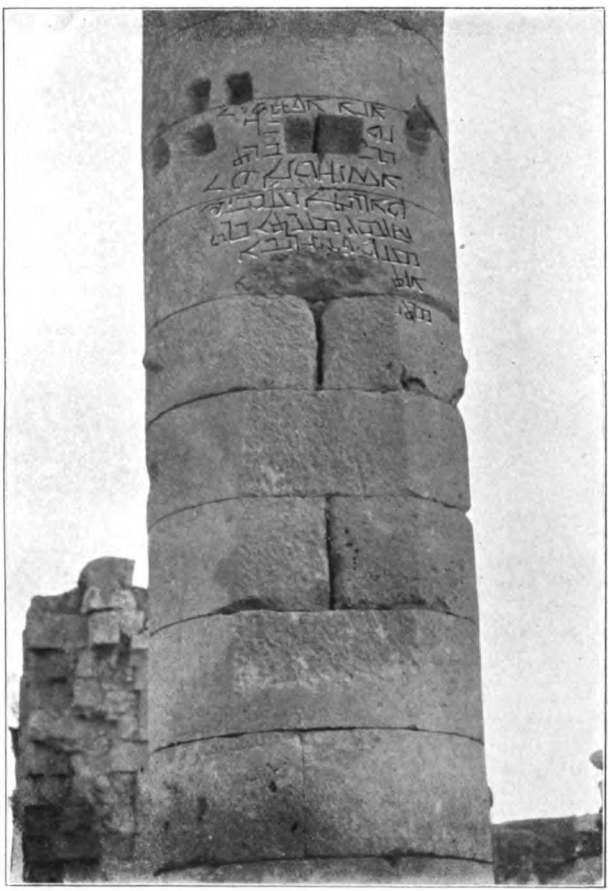

The inscribed pillar at Edessa.

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A sepulchral mosaic at Edessa.

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Argenidas, returned safely from a sea voyage, makes a votive offering to the Dioscuri.

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Mithra and his two Torch-bearers, from a monument found in London Wall and now in the collection of W. Ransom, Hitchin.

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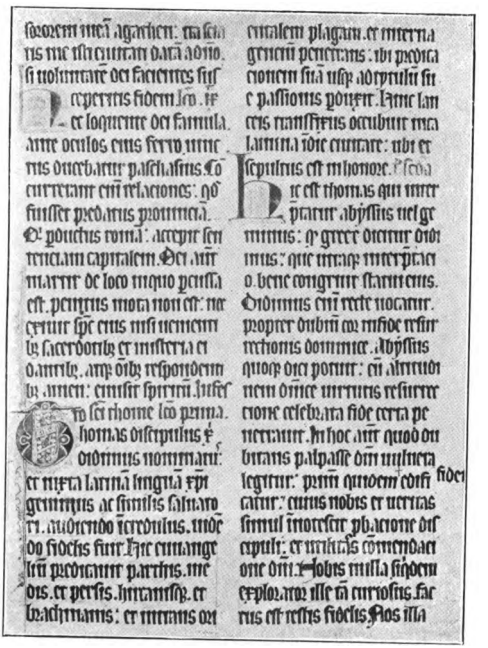

Legenda Sanctorum with lessons for S. Thomas' day.

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